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RAYMOND RADIGUET AND THE ROMAN D'ANALYSE

Raymond Radiguet disliked the expression 'infant prodigy'. 'Quelle famille ne possède son enfant prodige?' he writes in a note published by Jean Cocteau in his preface to *Le Bal du comte d'Orgel*. 'Elles ont inventé le mot. Certes il existe des enfants prodiges. Ce sont rarement les mêmes. L'âge n'est rien. C'est l'œuvre de Rimbaud et non l'âge auquel il l'écrivit qui m'étonne. Tous les grands poètes ont écrit à dix-sept ans. Les plus grands sont ceux qui parviennent à le faire oublier.'

It would be easy to conform with Radiguet's wish and forget his age when reading his novels, for they bear no trace of immaturity: they are the work of a ripe and serene mind, and have survived through their own intrinsic merit. As one contemporary critic has expressed it: 'L'œuvre de Radiguet n'a plus à être jugée comme celle d'un enfant prodige. Elle s'est détachée de son auteur, elle existe de façon quasi intemporelle: comme toutes les œuvres de vraie valeur, elle existe par elle-même. Dans la littérature romanesque française de ce demi-siècle, elle tient sa place: particulière, un peu à part, mais avec un éclat que nul ne saurait lui contester.'¹

But if we do remember that *Le Diable au corps* and *Le Bal du comte d'Orgel* were written when the author was between sixteen and twenty, the originality of his contribution to the French psychological novel becomes even more striking. For at an age when others are making their first contact with that rather difficult genre, the *roman d'analyse*, he had not only read, digested and assimilated the best that his predecessors had to offer, but had already evolved and perfected his own personal analytical method.

¹ Henri Hell, 'Radiguet le classique', *Combat*, 28 August 1952.

He had first developed this method in *Le Diable au corps*. There, he began by making the 'external' plot as simple as possible. He has summarized it himself in these words: 'On voit la liberté, le désœuvrement, dus à la guerre, façonner un jeune garçon et tuer une jeune femme.' In this way, he has been able to bring out the real 'drama', which is situated elsewhere on the psychological plane, within the mind of the boy who is at once the hero and narrator of the story—in the suffering endured by this 'enfant aux prises avec une aventure d'homme'.

At the beginning of the book, we are shown the two qualities that enable the hero to embark upon his 'adventure' and describe his feelings as he goes: his extreme precociousness and his perspicacity. We are then led to live with him through each successive phase of his 'drama', to follow the gradual evolution of his behaviour, from his shyness during his first walk with Marthe ('J'étais heureux qu'il se fit un secret entre nous, et moi timide, me sentais déjà tyrannique avec elle'), to his joy on learning that she loves him, or rather, that he can dominate her ('Je pouvais toucher sa figure, embrasser ses yeux, ses bras, l'habiller, l'abîmer, à ma guise'); his jealousy on discovering that his newly-found pleasures have already been shared by Marthe and her husband Jacques ('Le faux plaisir m'apportait une vraie douleur d'homme: la jalousie'); his despair on realizing that he is still a boy ('Décidément, j'avais encore fort à faire pour devenir un homme'); his surprise when told that Marthe is soon to have his child ('J'enrageais de n'être pas assez homme pour trouver la chose simple'); his bewilderment when he later thinks that it belongs to Jacques ('Je me trouvais dans un désordre incroyable, et comme jeté à l'eau, en pleine nuit, sans savoir nager; je ne comprenais plus rien'); his happiness on being assured that the child is his own ('Je n'avais place que pour la joie'); and finally his attitude of complete indifference when informed that Marthe has died ('Parce que mon père pleurait, je sanglotais. Alors, ma mère me prit en mains. Les yeux secs, elle me soigna froidement, tendrement, comme s'il se fût agi d'une scarlatine.') The child will be well cared for by the husband Jacques, who believes that it is his own, and the real father is now free to lead a life more in keeping with his age.

To bring out the hero's thoughts and feelings, the author makes use of general observations and reflections, such as:

Les vrais pressentiments se forment à des profondeurs que notre esprit ne visite pas. Aussi, parfois, nous font-ils accomplir des gestes que nous interprétons tout de travers.

And further on :

Rien ne ressemble moins aux choses elles-mêmes que ce qui en est tout près. Un homme qui a failli mourir croit connaître la mort. Le jour où elle se présente enfin à lui, il ne la reconnaît pas : 'Ce n'est pas elle', dit-il, en mourant.

These are usually stated first, then illustrated by some incident in the story. We are shown, for example, why the narrator, shortly before Marthe's death, begins to live more quietly :

Un homme désordonné qui va mourir et ne s'en doute pas met soudain de l'ordre autour de lui. Sa vie change. Il classe des papiers. Il se lève tôt, il se couche de bonne heure. Il renonce à ses vices. Son entourage se félicite. Aussi sa mort brutale semble-t-elle d'autant plus injuste. *Il allait vivre heureux.*

De même, le calme nouveau de mon existence était ma toilette de condamné. Je me croyais meilleur fils parce que j'en avais un. Or, ma tendresse me rapprochait de mon père, de ma mère parce que quelque chose savait en moi que j'aurais, sous peu, besoin de la leur.

In the same way, we learn why the boy's father is most affected by the news of Marthe's death :

La foudre qui tombe sur un homme est si prompte qu'il ne souffre pas. Mais c'est pour celui qui l'accompagne un triste spectacle. Tandis que je ne ressentais rien, le visage de mon père se décomposait. Il poussa mes frères. 'Sortez, bégaya-t-il. Vous êtes fous, vous êtes fous.'

Sometimes the order is reversed and the general remark, instead of introducing the incident, follows and explains it. The narrator describes his young brothers' excitement on learning that, because of the German invasion, they are to have a trip to the sea :

Tandis que chacun s'étonne, je découvre enfin les mobiles de ce patriotisme : un voyage à bicyclette ! jusqu'à la mer ! et une mer plus loin, plus jolie que d'habitude. Ils eussent brûlé Paris pour partir plus vite. Ce qui terrifiait l'Europe était devenu leur unique espoir.

He then continues :

L'égoïsme des enfants est-il si différent du nôtre ? L'été, à la campagne, nous maudissons la pluie qui tombe, et les cultivateurs la réclament.

Later, when Marthe's mother unexpectedly arrives during one of his visits, he thinks that it is the husband and hopes that he will kill them both :

Moi qui avais si peur de la mort, je ne tremblais pas. Au

contraire, j'aurais accepté que ce fût Jacques, à condition qu'il nous tuât. Toute autre solution me semblait ridicule.

Envisager la mort avec calme ne compte que si nous l'envisageons seul. La mort à deux n'est plus la mort, même pour les incrédules. Ce qui chagrine, ce n'est pas de quitter la vie, mais de quitter ce qui lui donne un sens. Lorsqu'un amour est notre vie, quelle différence y a-t-il entre vivre ensemble ou mourir ensemble?

Occasionally the two processes are combined and the general remark is then linked more closely with the story. The narrator explains why, during his final leave, the husband Jacques merely irritates his wife:

[*Particular instance:*] Il fut malhabile. [*General statement:*] Celui qui aime agace toujours celui qui n'aime pas. [*Return to particular instance:*] Et Jacques l'aimait toujours davantage.

Similarly, he explains his disappointment after kissing Marthe for the first time:

[*Particular instance:*] La saveur du premier baiser m'avait déçu comme un fruit que l'on goûte pour la première fois. [*General statement:*] Ce n'est pas dans la nouveauté, c'est dans l'habitude que nous trouvons les plus grands plaisirs. [*Return to particular instance:*] Quelques minutes après, non seulement j'étais habitué à la bouche de Marthe, mais encore je ne pouvais plus m'en passer.

However, it was not until he wrote *Le Bal du comte d'Orgel* that Radiguet perfected this method and made it his own. Here, the 'external' plot is almost non-existent. It is that of *La Princesse de Clèves*. 'Roman d'amour chaste, aussi scabreux que le roman le moins chaste', he writes in an introductory note. The setting is also a simple one. It is described merely to create 'une atmosphère utile au déploiement de certains sentiments'. 'Ce n'est pas une peinture du monde', he adds; 'différence avec Proust. Le décor ne compte pas.' As in Mme de Lafayette's novel, the action takes place entirely on the psychological plane, within the minds of the three main characters, Anne d'Orgel, his wife Mahaut and their friend François de Sérèuse. The whole 'drama' lies in the development of 'un amour qui se débat'. 'Roman où c'est la psychologie qui est romanesque', explains the author. 'Le seul effort d'imagination est appliqué là, non aux événements extérieurs, mais à l'analyse des sentiments.'

Yet Radiguet's novel is by no means an imitation of *La Princesse de Clèves*. The theme is the same; but the characters are different, the conclusion is original and, above all, the analytical

method is new. Throughout her novel, Mme de Lafayette remains in the background; at no stage does she intervene. The analysis is carried out from within, by the characters themselves. They are the ones that examine, account for and describe their thoughts and feelings. Mme de Clèves, for example, after confessing to her husband that she loves Nemours, reasons as follows:

Lorsque le prince fut parti, que Mme de Clèves demeura seule, qu'elle regarda ce qu'elle venait de faire, elle en fut si épouvantée qu'à peine put-elle imaginer que ce fût une vérité. Elle trouva qu'elle s'était ôté elle-même le cœur et l'estime de son mari, et qu'elle s'était creusé un abîme dont elle ne sortirait jamais. Elle se demandait pourquoi elle avait fait une chose si hasardeuse, et elle trouvait qu'elle s'y était engagée sans en avoir presque eu le dessein. La singularité d'un pareil aveu, dont elle ne trouvait point d'exemple, lui en faisait voir tout le péril.

Mais quand elle venait à penser que ce remède, quelque violent qu'il fût, était le seul qui la pouvait défendre contre M. de Nemours, elle trouvait qu'elle ne devait point se repentir, et qu'elle n'avait point trop hasardé. Elle passa toute la nuit pleine d'incertitude, de trouble et de crainte; mais enfin le calme revint dans son esprit; elle trouva même de la douceur à avoir donné ce témoignage de fidélité à un mari qui le méritait si bien, qui avait tant d'estime et tant d'amitié pour elle, et qui venait de lui en donner encore des marques par la manière dont il avait reçu ce qu'elle lui avait avoué.

In *Le Bal du comte d'Orgel*, on the other hand, the author is constantly in the foreground, beside the reader, acting as a spokesman for his characters. He personally analyses their thoughts, actions and even their reasoning. In order to do so, he makes use of all the processes already employed in *Le Diable au corps* and, developing them even further, makes them the basis of his analytical method.

As before, he usually explains his characters' behaviour by making first a general statement, which is then linked with some incident in the story. He analyses in this way Anne d'Orgel's attitude to his friend François:

Nous sommes attirés par qui nous flatte, de quelque façon que ce soit. Or François admirait le comte. Son admiration allait avant tout à l'homme capable d'être aimé d'une Mahaut. En retour, Orgel éprouvait sans le savoir, pour François, un peu de cette reconnaissance que l'on éprouve envers qui nous porte envie.

By the same process, he explains the countess Mahaut's behaviour on the eve of François' departure:

Les départs nous autorisent à une certaine tendresse. L'homme qui, ailleurs que sur un quai, agiterait son mouchoir ne pourrait être qu'un fou.

Mme d'Orgel, sans la moindre honte, tout naturellement, déploya son amitié. François lui répondait, ne pouvait se lasser de penser que ce serait dans un endroit nouveau, à Venise, qu'il verrait ce visage.

Very often, as in *Le Diable au corps*, the general remark is made after the incident has already been described. The author informs us that François is highly thought of by his elders because 'il a la sagesse de ne pas brûler les étapes'. He then continues:

Le dire précoce, rien n'eût été plus inexact. Tout âge porte ses fruits, il faut savoir les cueillir. Mais les jeunes gens sont si impatients d'atteindre les moins accessibles, et d'être des hommes, qu'ils négligent ceux qui s'offrent.

He later describes first the sadness of the Russian prince Naroumof, then proceeds to account for it:

Dès le début du dîner, Naroumof s'efforça d'être jovial. Pourtant sa présence glaçait.

Nul sourire n'efface ce qu'imprime la souffrance sur un visage. Ce ne sont pas des rides; le regard est pareil. Un homme qui a souffert n'a pas forcément vieilli. La transformation est plus profonde.

Sometimes, as before, the two processes are combined and the general observation is thus made to form a natural part of the narrative. The evening that the three friends spend at Robinson is described as follows:

[*Particular instance:*] L'année qui suivit l'armistice, la mode fut de danser en banlieue. [*General statement:*] Toute mode est délicate qui répond à une nécessité, non à une bizarrerie. [*Return to particular instance:*] La sévérité de la police réduisait à cette extrémité ceux qui ne savent se coucher tôt. Les parties de campagne se faisaient la nuit. On soupait sur l'herbe ou presque.

Similarly, we learn why Mme de Sérèuse is reserved, even with her son:

[*Particular instance:*] La froideur de Mme de Sérèuse n'était qu'une grande réserve, et peut-être une impossibilité à dévoiler ses sentiments. On la croyait insensible, et son fils lui-même la trouvait distante. Mme de Sérèuse adorait son fils, mais veuve à vingt ans, dans sa crainte de donner à François une éducation féminine, elle avait refoulé ses élans. [*General statement:*] Une ménagère ne peut voir du pain émieté. [*Return to particular*

instance:] Les caresses semblaient à Mme de Séryeuse gaspillage du cœur et capables d'appauvrir les grands sentiments.

These processes, we have seen, have already been employed in *Le Diable au corps*. But in *Le Bal du comte d'Orgel* the author uses yet another, peculiar to this novel: departing altogether from Mme de Lafayette's method, he sometimes develops the action on three separate planes. First, he describes some incident in the story; he then reveals the reasons why the characters believe that they act in such a way; and finally, he personally intervenes to explain the real reasons for their behaviour.

He describes in this manner the family of *braves gens* that François meets in a suburban train after the theatre:

[*Incident:*] Le chef de la famille tenait d'une main et caressait de l'autre comme un animal, un chapeau claque d'une forme ancienne. Il faisait avec ce chapeau mille pitreries pour tenir les enfants éveillés. . . . La dame et sa grande fille, honteuses du brave homme à cause de la présence de François, se plongeaient dans le programme du spectacle dont elles venaient et, lorsque les enfants trépignaient de joie, secouaient leur tête enveloppée d'une mantille. Elles souriaient, du sourire qui désavoue. . . . Furieuses, elles ne se contentaient plus maintenant de sourire, elles tenaient tête. Alors que l'homme s'extasiait en bloc sur l'intérêt de la pièce, l'excellence des acteurs, du dîner au restaurant, le moelleux des coussins du wagon, elles opposaient de l'humeur à son enthousiasme: 'Le wagon était sale, un acteur ne savait pas son rôle. . . .' [*Reasoning of characters:*] Des connaissances doivent se plaindre, pensaient-elles. [*Author's reasoning:*] Et c'est, hélas! ce que de bas en haut pense tout le monde. Le manège de ces femmes venait de ce qu'elles sentaient que François était d'une classe supérieure. Elles ne pouvaient deviner qu'il préférât à leur sottise la simplicité de leur trouble-fête. Le trouble-fête ne comprenait rien à cette scène. Il se consolait avec les enfants que n'avait point encore déformés le sentiment de l'inégalité. Aussi étaient-ils heureux comme des rois. Alors que le père, en caressant ce chapeau haut de forme qui l'amusaient plus qu'il ne le flattait, était heureux de penser que son travail lui permettrait bientôt une autre sortie, leur robe gênait mère et fille, qui, l'une, pensait au tablier qu'elle mettrait le lendemain, l'autre à sa blouse de vendeuse.

He explains in the same way why the countess Mahaut is prepared to spend her afternoons with François:

[*Incident:*] François souriait, restait et se taisait. Mme d'Orgel cousait. . . . 'Passez-moi cette pelote. — Vóyez-vous mes ciseaux?' Souvent, lorsque François lui passait l'objet demandé, leurs mains se frôlaient maladroitement. . . . Elle ne s'alarmait pas

après ces longues journées. [*Character's reasoning:*] Elle se disait: 'En face de lui je n'éprouve rien.' [*Author's reasoning:*] N'est-ce pas là une parfaite définition du bonheur? Il en est du bonheur comme de la santé: on ne le constate pas.

This method, it will be seen, has certain defects. Because of it the reader's attention is sometimes diverted from the novel's central theme; he tends to admire the author instead of 'living' with his characters. Albert Thibaudet writes on this point: 'Le plan d'intérêt du *Bal du comte d'Orgel*, ce ne sont pas les êtres de chair et d'os qui tournent dans ce bal, c'est l'orchestre, c'est la musique immatérielle dont les nombres et les rapports règlent leur mouvement.' But, adds Thibaudet, 'le plaisir de sympathiser et de vivre avec une intelligence aiguë, avec le laboratoire cérébral où s'élaborent les idées, les essences de la psychologie romanesque, ne vaut-il pas celui de vibrer avec la vie romanesque d'une créature fictive?'²

Because of this method, too, the novel sometimes appears rather cold and academic. It has not the pent-up emotion of *La Princesse de Clèves*, nor has it the spontaneity of *Le Diable au corps*. The characters' actions are at times, to use Thibaudet's expression, merely 'des parties d'échecs psychologiques'. However, the fault lies not so much in the method itself as in the over-rigorous manner in which it is applied. The author, it seems, wished to be too perfect. 'Peut-être est-il trop le maître de ses créatures', writes François Mauriac; 'elles ne l'entraînent jamais, elles suivent une ligne droite, dont nous souhaiterions parfois qu'elles dévient.'³ But these are small defects, which would no doubt soon have been eliminated; most of the critics agree on this point. 'Son livre est un peu sec', remarks one of them, 'mais c'est que celui qui l'a écrit n'est encore qu'un cerveau, merveilleusement doué, et n'a pas encore le cœur enrichi et amolli par la vie.'⁴ And François Mauriac expresses the same opinion: 'La passion, dans une certaine mesure, nous mécanise', he writes. 'C'est ce qu'avait bien vu Radiguet, qui aurait vite acquis plus de souplesse. Telle qu'elle est, son œuvre nous suffit à nous, ses aînés; la cause est entendue, cet enfant était un maître.'⁵

This 'child was a master', for his method has also some undisputed virtues. It enables him to move with ease within the

² 'La Psychologie romanesque', *N.R.F.*, July-December 1924, p. 127.

³ *Le Roman* (Paris, L'Artisan du livre, 9th ed., 1928), p. 115.

⁴ Unsigned article published in *La Liberté*, 9 July 1925.

⁵ *Le Roman*, p. 115.

restricted framework of the psychological novel and to trace each successive stage in the development of the passion that links his two main characters. From the moment when he announces the novel's real theme ('Les manœuvres inconscientes d'une âme pure sont encore plus singulières que les combinaisons du vice') to the final *dénouement*—'plus fatal que s'il était sanglant', writes one critic⁶—nothing escapes his investigation. A mere summary would not permit us to appreciate the sureness and precision of the analysis throughout the story. It would be necessary to quote the whole book.

This method also enables the author once again to intersperse the narrative with general observations and reflections, which reveal him to be already a moralist in the best tradition.⁷ Here are some examples, chosen at random :

Un parvenu sent son collier à son cou.

Le silence est un élément dangereux.

Rien ne nous enhardit plus que le trouble des autres.

Il en est des êtres comme des mers; chez les uns, l'inquiétude est l'état normal, d'autres sont une Méditerranée qui ne s'agite que pour un temps et retombe en la bonace.

Ce qui est trop simple à dire, on n'arrive pas à l'énoncer clairement.

On est malhabile en face d'un incrédule.

Finally, Radiguet's analytical method is in complete harmony with his subject-matter and his style. Throughout the novel, the three elements are skilfully combined, and in this fact is to be found perhaps the real secret of his art. 'La troublante pureté de cette œuvre ne vient pas tant de l'air raréfié dans lequel se déroulent ces aventures purement intérieures que dans l'exacte correspondance entre l'auteur, son sujet et son expression', writes a critic already quoted. 'Il y a dans ce récit tant de mesure, de tact, de pudeur et de hardiesse voilée, un équilibre de l'intelligence et du cœur, de l'imagination aussi, qui sont la marque même du récit qu'il faut bien appeler français.'⁸

One of the finest tributes yet paid to Radiguet's work and method is that contained in Aldous Huxley's introduction to the American edition of *Le Diable au corps*. He writes: 'It has . . . all the qualities that we expect to find only in the work of the ripest and most experienced artists; all the qualities that are

⁶ Louis Laloy, in *Comœdia*, 5 July 1924.

⁷ Radiguet the moralist is discussed at length by Henri Massis in his article 'Raymond Radiguet', in *La Revue universelle*, 15 August 1924, pp. 488-96.

⁸ Henri Hell, 'Radiguet le classique'.

generally the product of a long and slow process of chastening and concentration and refinement. Radiguet set out in possession of those literary virtues with which most writers painfully end.'

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THE ABUSE OF FRANZ KAFKA

An entry in Kafka's diaries dated 19 November 1913 reads: 'I am really like a lost sheep in the night and in the mountains, or like a sheep which is running after this sheep.' A good deal has happened to Kafka at the hands of his friends and critics since 1913: they have fought over the lost sheep, and mauled him a good deal in the process. But it seems unlikely that they will ever recapture him intact.

Kafka's unique style excluded from the first any possibility of success in the guessing game that has gone on since his death. Several dozen theories have been put forward by critics, translators and others who feel they know 'what Kafka meant'. No unanimity has been reached; in fact most of the critics are at one another's throats. Kafka, in the end, is the victim.

The principal blame for the mania to 'interpret' Kafka lies with Max Brod, Kafka's friend and posthumous editor. Brod appears fearful lest readers might give their own interpretation to Kafka's stories, or, worse still, take them at their face value. Kafka never mentions God in his stories. So Brod has affixed epilogues and notes to Kafka's works in which he attempts to influence the reader. For example, we read in the Additional Note to *The Castle*: 'In *The Trial* and *The Castle*, then, are represented the two manifested forms of the Godhead (in the sense of the Cabbala), justice and grace.' The reader, of course, will despair of K's chances of ever reaching the Castle (or attaining grace!), for in this novel, as in other works, Kafka gives no hint of optimism. But according to Brod everything is all right: Kafka told him so. 'He told me about it once when I asked him how the novel was to end. The ostensible Land Surveyor was to find partial satisfaction at least.' And the reader need not worry at Karl's situation in *America*. 'From what he [Kafka] told me, says Brod, 'I know that the . . . concluding chapter of the work . . . should end on a note of reconciliation.' Brod develops his arguments further in his Biography and especially in *Franz*

Kafkas Glauben und Lehre. Herbert Tauber, Edwin Muir and other more recent critics like Robert Kauf are largely dependent on Brod. They believe that Kafka had a religious message. Muir defines *The Castle* outright as 'like *The Pilgrim's Progress*, a religious allegory'.

The theories of Brod's 'mystical school' arouse the indignation of the psychoanalysts, led by Charles Neider. In his essay entitled 'The Cabalists' Neider makes a plea for a sane approach to Kafka. Kafka 'is being distorted for various ends without clear regard for his inherent value. . . . It remains now to indicate what has been missed in the Kafka search.' A quotation such as the following shows where, in Neider's view, the 'inherent value' of *The Trial* lies: 'Joseph K. is an early anal type, in contrast with Block, the late anal type. As an early anal type, he is a rejector. Block, the late anal type, is a retainer. . . . His most pressing problem is to progress from anal to genital eroticism.'

At least we can comfort ourselves with the reflection that few readers will take this kind of interpretation seriously. The psychoanalysts have no more internal evidence on which to twist Kafka to their own particular ends than the religious critics like Brod. But Kafka seems to inspire a large number of critics to talk nonsense. The existential philosophy, Bolshevism, Kierkegaard and others have all been exuberantly cited (and often without convincing textual proof) to explain Kafka's works. Denis Saurat likewise appears to lose his head when he is discussing Kafka. He comes to the enlightening conclusion that Kafka's ultimate meaning (like that of Goethe and Wagner!) must be 'commonplace, trivial or puerile'. Fortunately some respected critics have shown restraint, but 'they are in the minority'.

In the last year or two, with the publication of works like the *Letters to Milena*, the *Conversations with Kafka*, and the enlarged edition of *The Castle*, Kafka criticism seems to have deteriorated even further. It is perhaps now the proper time to ask why Kafka seems to attract what might be described as crackpot criticism.

The blame for this must be laid primarily at the door of Max Brod. In attributing to Kafka opinions and beliefs which often directly contradict Kafka's own words, he set an example which other critics have seen fit to follow. But Brod has gone further than this: he has tampered with Kafka's words themselves. It is obvious that the few short stories (*The Stoker*, *The Transformation*, *The Judgment*, etc.) that were published in Kafka's life-

time have come straight from the author's pen. But the bulk of Kafka's work has been published posthumously by Brod, and here there has been a good deal of meddling with the text. Where there is no reliable text there can be no reliable criticism of it. The critics themselves therefore should not always be blamed if their interpretations do not make sense. After Kafka's death Brod appointed himself editor and arbiter of his friend's works, and he allows Kafka readers to peruse only what he has approved, and, if necessary, 'improved'. No critical judgment on Kafka will be worth much until the whole of Kafka's work, and notes have been published in their original form. Until that day the present confusion will persist.

Unfortunately the fact that Brod 'improves' Kafka is all too little known, though Brod has on occasion admitted it outright. In the Postscript to the second edition of *The Trial* Brod states that he has tried to adjust the 'punctuation, style and syntactical construction' to make it tally with 'general German usage'. He admits furthermore that he has in an unspecified number of cases altered Kafka's words 'when the same word is used two or more times in the same sentence'. In the Postscript to the second edition of *America* likewise Brod admits that he has touched up the language in the second chapter. It is however rarely that Brod refers openly to the emendations he has made: usually, it seems, he makes them privately and without apology. It is no hard matter to furnish proof of this. Let us take an example selected at random. If one compares an extract from Kafka's diaries (15 November 1911) given in Brod's biography of Kafka¹ with the same passage in the complete *Diaries*² (also edited by Brod), one finds within thirteen lines no less than eleven differences in the text: in this passage in the *Diaries* three alterations have been made in punctuation, one word has been changed, one word omitted, and a six-word clause which radically affects the meaning has been inserted. In other words Brod has changed his mind about the way in which Kafka is to be presented to the public.

This kind of thing renders meaningless Brod's and Muir's praise of Kafka's style. 'I can think of no other writer who can secure so much force and meaning as Kafka does by the mathematically correct placing of a word', says Muir in his Introduction to *The Castle*. He refers to the 'utmost exactitude' and

¹ *Franz Kafka: Eine Biographie* (Schocken Books, 1946), p. 112.

² *Franz Kafka: Tagebücher* (S. Fischer Verlag, 1951), pp. 161-2.

'inevitable skill' of Kafka's style, and compares it with that of James Joyce. Even Brod himself, while confessing his improvements of the text, admits that Kafka's language is 'crystal clear' and compares it with the style of J. P. Hebel and Heinrich von Kleist. Despite this Brod, whose own style in German is hardly perfect, judges himself competent to improve Kafka!

Brod does not confine his interference to making improvements in Kafka's style. For example, the titles Kafka gives his works are not sacred to him: he is prepared to supply a title of his own where one is missing in the original, as in the case of *Der Gruftwächter*, or even to replace Kafka's perfectly good title '*Der Verschollene*' by '*Amerika*' in the novel which now bears that name. But an even more common phenomenon than alteration or insertion is deletion. Brod is prepared to omit whole passages of the original if, for varying reasons, he finds them unsatisfactory. In the Postscript to the *Diaries*, for example, he tells us that he has omitted not only some passages which were 'too intimate' or 'scathing', but also a few fragments which he has judged 'meaningless'. In view of the semi-incomprehensibility of certain passages of Kafka that Brod has seen fit to publish (especially in the recent *Wedding Preparations*), one wonders what harm would have been done by the inclusion of these few additional 'meaningless' fragments in the *Diaries*. Only Brod knows the answer to that. In the first edition of *The Castle* likewise, two passages are deliberately left out by Brod. In the second, Brod having changed his mind, they are included—among other changes made. As for the Definitive (!) Edition of 1953, one does not need even to open the cover to realize the size of the new additions made, all of which should properly have been included from the beginning.

Brod's editing of Kafka is therefore wide open to the severest criticism, to say the least. In all fairness one must admit that he had an unusually difficult task in editing notes and manuscripts which were not designed for the public. Brod points out in his Postscript to the *Description of a Struggle* that often sentences or whole passages appeared in two different forms, and a decision in favour of one or the other had to be made. Sometimes passages had been crossed out altogether, some could be deciphered only with difficulty, much was fragmentary. Brod decided that his task was to create from this 'a readable whole', which came as close as possible to the probable intentions of the author. It is however most questionable whether he was in any way justified in assuming this responsibility. Probably the

most proper action would have been for Brod to destroy the manuscripts altogether, for this was his friend's expressed wish. However, we can sympathize with him in his failure to comply with this request, and one might have expected him, having sorted the manuscripts into some kind of order, to publish them unamended in their entirety. In view of the variant readings and so forth which would have been necessary, this would have made far from pleasant reading in places, but it would at least have provided a true picture of the original.

A third alternative would have been to do what Brod has in fact partly done, i.e. to create 'a readable whole', but in doing this he should have indicated clearly every alteration he had made in the text. As it has turned out, a fourth alternative would probably have been the wisest plan of all: to entrust publication to someone other than himself (or possibly to an editorial board) whose ability and impartiality could not have been called in question. As it is, we have to endure a Kafka who has been subject to the arbitrary censorship and 'improvement' of one man. Brod's censoring of Kafka affects the validity of many critical opinions held about his works. Indeed, a few English-speaking critics know Kafka only in a doubly distorted form, for Brod having amended Kafka, he has been further amended by his translators. Even Edwin Muir's attractive translations are far from perfect.

What is the explanation of Brod's unsatisfactory editing of Kafka's works? One possible answer to this question is found in Brod's Postscript to the *Description of a Struggle*. Brod tells us here that he was forced to break with his assistant, Hans Schoeps, on account of differences in *Weltanschauung* (which involved the interpretation of Kafka's works). Brod admits that Schoeps was competent in the technical work of editing, but apparently this was not of primary importance. Thus their collaboration ceased, and Brod looked elsewhere for an assistant with a more acceptable *Weltanschauung*. Does this prove that Brod's emendation of Kafka is based on his own political and religious views? Probably not. No one explanation of Brod's peculiar editing should be given. His motives are often political or philosophical or religious, often literary, sometimes personal. In any case Brod assumed his task voluntarily, and it is high time he received a vote of no confidence.

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THE CHANGING ATTITUDE OF AMERICAN AUTHORS TOWARDS EUROPE *

This brief discussion of the great literary and cultural give and take that occurs between Europe and America and of the changing attitude of American authors towards European culture and literature will be made clearer if we subdivide the entire period of American letters into four different phases, of which the first two, from 1620 to 1860, were entirely subservient to the standards and values emanating from Europe, while the third phase, from 1860 to about 1890, strove for a complete spiritual independence from, and rejection of, the European pattern. It is only in the fourth and last phase, since about 1900, that a fairly equitable co-existence has been achieved, with the American authors willing to live and let live, to give to and to absorb from Europe, almost entirely without those excessively pro-European or anti-European complexes which are apt to mar many inherently fine efforts in formerly colonial literatures.

The first phase, the colonial literature from the middle of the seventeenth century to the end of the eighteenth, did not especially distinguish itself by its literary qualities, for neither the Puritans around 1650 nor the battlers for freedom from the political oppression of George III around 1775 were excessively given to aesthetic considerations. Still, what literary influences there were, were almost exclusively English—John Milton and Alexander Pope foremost among them—though it should be emphasized, too, that the religious and political impact of Europe was far stronger than whatever echoes European literature might have evoked in colonial America. In religion, of course, the impact of English Puritanism was supreme—to which can be added various Protestant contributions from Germany, Switzerland and France: Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, du Bartas, though these continental influences were always distinctly secondary to the overwhelming influence of the English mother-country upon the young and struggling colonies. Outstanding among the great Puritan absorbers of the heritage of English Protestantism was Increase Mather, a theologian, pamphleteer, political and religious leader and educator rather than a distinctly literary figure. He was of importance not only as the absolutistic head of the Boston theocracy, but also as a statesman in the wider sense of the word

* Address delivered at the A.U.M.L.A. Congress in Brisbane, August 1955.

because, after the downfall of Puritanism in England and the restoration of the Stuarts, it was he who became the first unofficial political and cultural ambassador of his fellow Americans in London and who, while safeguarding colonial and Puritan interests, had to carry out the very difficult task of negotiating a new *modus vivendi* with an inherently anti-Puritan and anti-democratic Charles II and James II. A more distinctly literary link in this Puritan age not given too much to belletristics can be seen in the emulation of the stern Huguenot poetry of du Bartas and his *La première semaine ou la création du monde* by the first poetess of America, Mrs Anne Bradstreet from Boston, whose religious and meditative poems appeared first in England in 1659 under the delightful soubriquet of 'The tenth Muse, lately sprung up in America'.

It was only after 1750, when political considerations in the coming war against England loomed far greater than the religious exaltation of the New England Puritans, that the English hegemony of being almost the sole cultural provider of America was challenged for the first time, for political enlightenment against the tyranny of kings meant, above all, the influence of France, of the 'enlighteners' around Montesquieu and Voltaire, and also the impact of Swiss republicanism as exemplified in Rousseau's glorification, in *Le contrat social*, of the old democratic freedoms of his native Geneva. Perhaps we can afford to mention by name three or four instances of such political rather than purely literary indebtedness. Montesquieu's *Esprit des lois* of 1740 appealed to the rebellious colonials especially, inasmuch as it contained a masterful analysis of those old English freedoms which the increasingly odious George III was trying to pervert in America – and in the pre-war stages of the American Revolution Montesquieu's book therefore constituted an ideal goal, a programmatic discussion of the very freedoms to which the restless colonials wanted to revert. Benjamin Franklin – almost a hundred years after Increase Mather – the second great emissary of America to explain and to safeguard the colonial interests in London, left England for Paris after the outbreak of the actual fighting, not only because France was to be won over as a badly-needed ally in the war against England, but also because Paris was the great home of European Enlightenment, the city where Franklin met Voltaire, Turgot, Buffon and Lafayette, where he absorbed and digested the new ideas of *liberté*, *égalité* and *fraternité* and passed them on to his native America – for what had been a challenging topic

of radical discussions and elegant *causeries* in the salons of Paris now became a bloody reality at Valley Forge and Yorktown. Another instance of the very great and real contribution of French Enlightenment to the political thinking of the young American republic is the fact that Thomas Jefferson, the formulator of the American Declaration of Independence and the spiritual father of the modern Democratic Party, followed Benjamin Franklin as the second American minister to France. Jefferson was in the very midst of the spiritual fermentation of the 1780's and the later outbreak of the French Revolution before, deeply imbued with the imperishable ideals of 1789, he returned to his native country to serve in the cabinet of the first President, George Washington, and later to become President himself. It should be noted, too, that the first accurate and warm-hearted account of the new American republic, its steadily advancing Western Frontier and its tremendous future potentialities, was written by a very pro-American Frenchman, St. Jean de Crèvecoeur, who spent a few years as a farmer in the Central States before he became French consul in New York: it was his *Letters from an American Farmer* of 1782 which went through many European translations and editions and served as the most informative handbook for potential European emigrants before another Frenchman, the count Alexis de Tocqueville, superseded it in 1835 with his basically significant *De la démocratie en Amérique*. And finally, to turn to the more distinctly literary rather than political aspects of the French impact: it should also be borne in mind that Philip Freneau, sometimes called the father of American lyrical poetry, was of French extraction and that he, halfway between Enlightenment and Romanticism, always staunchly represented the ideals and traditions of France, even though the reverberations of the Napoleonic Wars and of the blockade of Europe did not always make it easy for him to serve as a self-appointed intermediary between his old native and his new adopted country.

The second phase comprises the years from 1800 to 1860, the New York authors like Washington Irving, James Fenimore Cooper, William Cullen Bryant and Herman Melville, Southerners like Edgar Allan Poe and William Gilmore Simms, and especially the Golden Age of New England culture and Romanticism, of Emerson, Thoreau, Margaret Fuller, Hawthorne, Longfellow, Lowell and Holmes. It was a phase in which the literature of America and the influence of Europe upon this literature became supreme though religious and political

currents across the Atlantic Ocean (e.g. the impact of the tenets of the French Revolution or the theology of Schleiermacher upon the Transcendentalists) remained important, if secondary, factors in American cultural life. It was a phase, too, during which the hegemony of England as the foremost contributor to American culture was plainly broken, for with the achievement of political independence in the thirteen former colonies, the road was free for other great cultures to make their influences felt. Switzerland's and France's Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Saint-Simon and Fourier inspired the best utopian thinkers and planners of America whose work extended from Brook Farm in Boston to New Harmony in Indiana and beyond, and the philosophical wisdom of Plato's Greece and the mysticism of ancient India provided the foundation for the noblest programmes and visions of the New England Transcendentalists. But greatest of all was the impact of Germany, whose own culture, in the decades of Goethe, Kant and Beethoven, had at last reached its finest peak – and this influence of the Golden Age of Germany upon the Western World in general and upon America in particular was so great, that it cannot even be outlined here. It is quite significant, too, that the close intellectual bonds which still existed between England and America often served to further these German influences, too – for with regard to the two most famous Anglo-American friendships of that time, the one between Sir Walter Scott and Washington Irving, and the other between Thomas Carlyle and Ralph Waldo Emerson, it should be borne in mind, too, that both Englishmen were outstanding Germanophiles, Sir Walter Scott the translator of Bürger's *Leonore* and of Goethe's *Goetz von Berlichingen*, Carlyle the translator and emulator of Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* and the author of a *Life of Frederick the Great* – and in both cases, Irving and Emerson in America owed very much of their German background to their English friends.

Right after the end of the Napoleonic Wars, the American traveller became a frequent visitor in Europe; he came no longer as an argumentative priest like Increase Mather in the seventeenth century, nor as a wily diplomat like Benjamin Franklin in the eighteenth, but as a culture-seeking gentleman, a visitor to London and Paris, a student at German universities, a profound lover of Italy or of Spain. Irving was enthralled by Moorish Granada, while Longfellow visited Scandinavia, and emulated the Finnish *Kalevala* in his own *Hiawatha*; Margaret

Fuller married an Italian aristocrat and took a burning interest in the *Risorgimento* of the hapless Italian peninsula, while Cooper, hard to please either at home or abroad, was most favourably impressed by the democratic institutions of Switzerland; the historian George Bancroft became a class-mate of Bismarck's at Göttingen, while Lowell achieved the high honour of becoming United States ambassador to England. New cultural bonds between Europe and America were woven unceasingly, for in view of her political independence and the mighty wave of non-Anglo-Saxon immigration which was to enrich her so tremendously, America was now free to seek out and to emulate the best that was in the cultures of the northern as well as of the Mediterranean worlds. In nine cases out of ten, Europe was the giver rather than the receiver of cultural values, for the American intelligentsia, ensconced along the shores of the Atlantic Ocean, could maintain and strengthen its precarious position in the face of the barbarian prowess, conquest, expansion, materialism, greed and violence of the Middle West only by constantly dipping into the invigorating and reassuring cultural reservoir of Europe that was at its disposal. Hence now the tremendous impact of the Golden Age of German literature and philosophy which extended from Ticknor's translation of Goethe's *Werther* in 1814 to the so-called St. Louis Hegelians around 1860; the influence of Rousseau, who found the most literal-minded emulator of his return-to-nature message in Henry David Thoreau, the sage of Walden Pond near Concord, Massachusetts; or the fascinating popularity of the novels of Sir Walter Scott in the pre-Civil War South, where his re-creations of medieval English chivalry may well be said to have helped to condition the entire semi-feudal way of life of the aristocratic plantation owners of Virginia and the Carolinas.

Scores of volumes have been written about the intensity of these American literary relations with Germany, England and France during the first half of the nineteenth century—and I should like to point to two other nations, whose contributions to American culture are not as well-known, nor as thoroughly explored: Italy and Spain. Italian awareness of the message of freedom preached by the successful American War of Liberation against England began when Alfieri, in 1781, wrote five odes *All' America libera*, and when he dedicated his *Brutus* to George Washington, that other great enemy of tyranny; while Carlo Botta, a few years later, sought to encourage a nation

striving for similar liberation from foreign oppression by writing a *Storia della guerra dell' indipendenza degli Stati Uniti d'America*. Quite important as the first unofficial cultural ambassador of Italy in America was Lorenzo da Ponte, not only well known, while he was still in Europe, as the libretto-writer of Mozart's operas *Don Giovanni* and *Così fan tutte*, but a busy little intermediary after his arrival in America who in essays, pamphlets, lectures and classes made Americans become aware of the beauty of the Italian language and the wealth of Italian literature. Of all the great Italian masters, Dante Alighieri was the one who always impressed the best American poets and thinkers most deeply, from about 1830 to our own days of Ezra Pound and T. S. Eliot; and rather than mention the fragmentary translations of the *Divina Commedia* by Parsons, the *Ugolino*-tragedy by Featherstonehaugh or the *Francesca da Rimini*-tragedy by Boker, we should dwell on the real mile-stones of American Dantism: Emerson's translation of the *Vita Nuova* of 1842 (the first English translation ever made, though not published to this very day), Lowell's beautiful essay on Dante, Longfellow's imposing translation of the entire *Divina Commedia*, published in 1865, on the occasion of the six-hundredth anniversary of Dante's birth, and the subsequent founding of the Dante Society of America (the third in the world, after those of Italy and Germany), and Charles Eliot Norton's new prose translations of *La Vita Nuova* and *La Divina Commedia* in 1867 and 1892 respectively. The comparatist interested in the international acclaim of Dante's literary works and high ethical ideals need not wonder why these New Englanders and Harvard scholars should have been so powerfully attracted to the greatest Italian poet, for far more important than the differences between them—Dante so medieval, so Catholic, so Italian, and the Bostonians so modern and progressive, so Protestant and American—were the similarities of their philosophies of life, disciplined, austere, scholarly, God-permeated, of an ethical idealism unmatched even by Shakespeare or Goethe.

As to America's indebtedness to Spain: rather than speak of intermediaries, translations or emulations of specific Spanish works, we might choose another mode of investigation customary among comparatists and point to Spanish history and culture as a whole as they impressed the visiting American travellers, poets, historians and diplomats. The panorama of this Spanish influence became all the wider, because one could include also the exotic and oriental world of Spanish-Moorish

relations or then, nearer home in America, the leading role of Spain in the discovery and colonization of Central and South America—two themes, in addition to the study of Spain proper, which for the sake of their rich colourfulness and breath-taking romanticism appealed greatly to the thin crust of intellectual leaders of a young nation busily engaged in the prosaic and soul-killing task of establishing a new civilization in far more inhospitable northern climes. George Ticknor, the first important American traveller in Spain and later the first teacher of Modern Languages at Harvard, is remembered to this very day for his often reprinted and basically important *History of Spanish Literature*. He was followed by Washington Irving, one of the most cultured and discriminating American visitors in Europe and later American ambassador to Spain, whose years on the Iberian peninsula inspired books like his immortal *Alhambra* (1832), his *Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada* and his *Legends of the Conquest of Spain*, and marginal works like his *Mahomet and his Successors* on the one hand and his *History of the Life of Columbus* and the *Voyages of the Companions of Columbus* on the other. Rather than point to Spanish elements in Poe or Longfellow, we might add that the historian William Hickling Prescott then continued the work begun by Washington Irving, writing either about Spain proper (his *History of Ferdinand and Isabella* of 1837 and his unfinished *History of Philip II*) or then about the hispanization and christianization of Spanish America (his *History of the Conquest of Mexico* of 1843 and his *Conquest of Peru*).

These hints about the cultural impact of Italy and Spain are about all we can afford to say—and many other interesting ties with Europe (Chateaubriand's very controversial *Voyage en Amérique*, Goethe's interesting remarks and hopes concerning America as expressed in his *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre*, Lenau's heart-breaking experiences in Ohio, etc.) can not even be alluded to here. One thing, though, must still be stated before we conclude with this second phase of American-European literary relations: that two American authors began to influence Europe in their turn; one, not very good, James Fenimore Cooper, because he had had the good luck of being the first to stumble across the very rich and appealing topic of the American Indian which, from his *Leatherstocking Tales* on, swept like wild-fire all over Europe; and the other, Edgar Allan Poe, because of the double reason that his exquisite art appealed greatly to the later Parnassians and Symbolists of Europe and

because the genre perfected by him, often called the detective story, or ratiocinative tale, was destined to become immensely popular in the twentieth century. With the endless translations of Cooper and the popularity of the new Red Indian themes, the ground was also prepared for a translation of Longfellow's *Hiawatha* by Freiligrath in 1857—and among the German emulators of Cooper's Western background one should name especially the Austrian Karl Postl, whose American tales, published under the name of Charles Sealsfield, achieved a broad popular success. As to the far greater artistic achievement of Edgar Allan Poe: Baudelaire's translation of his tales in 1856 and Mallarmé's French version of his *The Raven* and other poems in 1888 made him a first class literary power in Europe, and his impact, in both style and contents, was early and lasting, from Gautier, Verlaine and Rimbaud in the West to Dostoevski in the East.

After this period of greatest admiration for Europe's cultural values by American authors, as indicated in its whole wide range by Bryant's translation of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and Bayard Taylor's rendering of Goethe's *Faust*, it seemed natural that in a new phase, our third phase, the pendulum should swing to the other extreme and that with Walt Whitman there should begin a period of emphatic anti-Europeanism. One can trace the roots of this all-American attitude as far back as George Washington's *Farewell Address* of 1797, when the first President of the United States besought his countrymen to have as little to do with the affairs of Europe as possible—or as the Monroe Doctrine of 1823 which forbade European interventions in American problems. But these declarations had been political and economic rather than literary; they were the expression of the will of the new millions of immigrants in the Middle West who had been unhappy and miserable in strife-torn old Europe and who henceforth wanted to place as wide a chasm between the Old World and the New as they possibly could. Culturally, however, the influence of Europe continued unabated through the decades of Irving and Longfellow, and it was only from the Civil War on that this European leadership was first doubted and then deflated. With the holocaust of the Civil War, America at last began to discover her own self and her own titanic strength and variety, the folklore of the North and the South and the West, the dominating role of the ever-advancing American Frontier in the shaping of the American character, the hills of Vermont, the cotton of Georgia, the

lakes of Michigan, the plains of Kansas, the mountains of Colorado, the life on the Mississippi, the soul of the Negro, the homespun humour of the pioneers, the gold of California. Here was a whole new continent ready to be exploited, economically as well as poetically. The most urgent demand of the day seemed to be the creation of a great all-American epic (a hope unfulfilled to this very day) which would sing of the mountains and the prairies, the white, the red and the black inhabitants of America, of the cities and the rivers and the forests, of the New Yorkers and the Texans, of the vices and the virtues of that grand and overflowing melting-pot which is America—and, failing in that great aspiration to write an epic of the conquest of the West which would equal the deeds of valour immortalized by Homer, Virgil, Camoens or Tasso, one could at least write fragments of that epic as Walt Whitman did it in his epoch-making *Leaves of Grass* of 1855, and as the regional novelists tried to do it in the scores of works written between 1865 and 1900. To be sure, Emerson had been the first to visualize the possibility of an exclusively American and new literature which would dare to disregard the European patterns and fashions—but it was only Walt Whitman who made that vision come true, who dared to be grandiosely and boisterously his own self, tall, fleshy, hairy, arrogant, titanic, a superman, a Tarzan among the effete epigones around him. It was not that Whitman was more anti-European than the average American around 1870, who considered the United States as God's own country and who had a concept of Europe as the very lair of medieval barbarity and injustice; it was simply, that he ignored Europe, that in his life as well as in his poetry, in form as well as in contents, he simply did not need the European or any other foreign model. After the declaration of the political independence in 1776, there now came the declaration of a spiritual independence from Europe—and after Whitman we see that same proud Americanism and colourful regionalism in the poetry and especially in the prose of many new authors, ranging from Sidney Lanier in Georgia to Joaquin Miller in Nevada, from the old Louisiana of George Washington Cable to the Indiana of Edward Eggleston, from Mark Twain in Missouri to Bret Harte in California, indeed, somewhat later, to Jack London in Alaska and back again to the earthy Frontier-humorists like Josh Billings and Artemus Ward.

For most of these men, the importance of Europe had sunk to a minimum—in fact, in Mark Twain, more than in any

other American, we notice a bitterly anti-European and especially anti-English prejudice such as is not encountered in any American author before 1870. To be sure, Mark Twain, like Bret Harte, had gone to Europe on extensive travels and lecture-trips, just as Charles Dickens and Thackeray had gone to America—and though he was lionized in Paris and Berlin and even in London, and hailed as the first true American and an immense success with his quaint drawl and his flair for humour, Mark Twain never quite saw eye to eye with Europe, and he preferred a progressive American civilization of telephones and bathtubs to all the medieval castles and social prejudices of England. In his *Innocents Abroad* and *A Tramp Abroad*, he expressed himself with Gargantuan but good-natured banter about the many shortcomings of Europe—but he reserved his greatest venom for more serious books like *The Prince and the Pauper* and *A Connecticut Yankee at the Court of King Arthur*. For these two books, far more than mere children's stories, represent a wholesale condemnation of a merry old England which in truth had never been merry at all, for the age of chivalry and of the Renaissance in Europe in general, and in England in particular, had always been full of brutality, torture, misery and starvation, with endless wars, atavistic legislation and social discrimination making the life of the common people all but unbearable. It is of course easy to accuse Mark Twain of prejudice, of an unwillingness to acknowledge that life and liberty and a common decency in the treatment of men had considerably changed for the better between the ages of King Arthur and of Queen Victoria, in England as well as on the Continent—but that is the way Mark Twain chose to look at Europe, as perhaps a picturesque, but certainly also a barbarian, backward and decadent group of nations to which forward-forging America, the land of the free, the Utopia of tomorrow, should no longer be exposed. Also Mark Twain's *Life of Joan of Arc*, in many respects perhaps his finest book, represents medieval Europe (and Europe will always be medieval for men like him) as a Continent tull of hatred, superstition and fanaticism, of an ignorance and blackness all the blacker if contrasted with Joan of Arc, the one figure of light and hope and faith and decency who, however, had to be burnt at the stake because she was too good, too humane and far advanced for that kind of Europe.

After these two extreme oscillations of the pendulum—the admiration and emulation of Europe around 1830 and the

rejection of Europe around 1880 or, to put it in other terms, the glorification of the Spanish Middle Ages by Washington Irving and of the Italian and German Middle Ages by Longfellow, and the no less emphatic scorn of these Middle Ages by Walt Whitman and Mark Twain—we now come to the fourth and last phase. Roughly speaking, it set in in 1900 and it finally brought peace and mutual tolerance. To be sure, the seismographic needle but rarely stands in a completely neutral position of passive co-existence and more or less pronounced indifference, for around 1900 the American naturalists again borrowed from Europe while, in the 1930's, Europe began to borrow from America. But at least they have learned to accept each other, to face each other as almost equal partners, to live and to let live. American authors in particular have learned to get rid of an inferiority complex that is apt to haunt any colonial or ex-colonial country, to stand firmly and proudly on their own feet, to stop worrying excessively about the criticism or the applause of European arbiters of taste, book-reviewers and publishers—while on the other hand they have also got rid of their short-sighted isolationism and their more often than not arrogant nationalism, and have come to acknowledge the common cultural inheritance of the two continents and the common bond that will forever unite America and Europe. Every nation—in literature as well as in all other matters—has to learn to stop being either excessively apologetic and self-debasing or excessively aggressive and self-inflated—and for America that moment of achieving an inner balance and of acknowledging a common humaneness with the Western World came well before 1914. Even in the very midst of Mark Twain's All-Americanism, calmer realists and finer artists like William Dean Howells and Henry James had preserved an abiding love for Italy, Howells as U.S. consul in Italy (like Hawthorne before him), James in novels dealing with expatriate Americans in Italy like *Daisy Miller* and *Roderick Hudson*. With the coming of Naturalism, of course, American authors were inevitably drawn into the orbit of the great novelists of France and Russia and of the Marxist concepts emanating from Germany—and the influence of a single Frenchman, Emile Zola, can clearly be discerned in Frank Norris, Theodore Dreiser, Upton Sinclair, up to our own days of John Dos Passos and James T. Farrell, while Guy de Maupassant found a very earnest emulator in O. Henry. It would certainly lead too far to trace the various contributions also of Russia or Scandinavia in American

naturalism—but we can point to Jack London as a fascinating example of multiple foreign influences which he may not always have been able to co-ordinate properly, for besides the standard patterns of Naturalism his novels also reveal the very great influence of Darwin and of Nietzsche. And a generation after this European-inspired first period of Naturalism there came the second period of Naturalism between the two World Wars, in which American authors were givers rather than receivers in the concert of modern literatures, as the international popularity of American novelists like Hemingway and Steinbeck seems to indicate. The new leading role of America as an emitter of values is also indicated by the fact that in recent years they have received an amazing number of Nobel prizes—Sinclair Lewis, Eugene O'Neill and William Faulkner, for instance.

This peaceful new co-existence of the literatures of the two continents, this shedding of outgrown ideas about being too superior or too inferior to one another, this mutual permeation with literary influences gracefully given and, in most cases, gracefully received, is illustrated also by various new developments which deserve mention. In the field of lyrical poetry, both the Parnassians and the Symbolists of France have influenced an international brotherhood of poets where it is often difficult to draw national lines. Especially the Anglo-American imitators of Gautier and Baudelaire and then again of Verlaine, Mallarmé and Rimbaud are so closely interrelated, that they are usually referred to as the Anglo-American poets or Imagists, as though the barrier of the Atlantic Ocean did not exist. The best symbol of the essential oneness of poets like Ezra Pound, Eliot, Yeats, Auden, MacLeish, Williams or Hart Crane is the fact that the Englishman Auden emigrated to America, while the American T. S. Eliot (following in the footsteps of the American novelist Henry James) emigrated to England. Other young American poets of this group, like Julian Green, Stuart Merrill and Frances Vielé-Griffin, preferred to live and write in France, the centre of the movement, while Ezra Pound, another expatriate American, felt most at home in the Italy of Gabriele d'Annunzio. Of course, the United States had known expatriates before, cultured patricians or millionaires and their descendants who preferred to live in London, Paris, Rome or Baden-Baden (and no American author had been more acrimonious in his attacks upon spineless expatriates who were ashamed of Pittsburgh, Milwaukee or Kalamazoo than Mark Twain had been

in his *Innocents Abroad*), but this emigration of the James and the Eliots, the Stuart Merrills and the Ezra Pounds (and among our modern novelists, of the Ernest Hemingways and the Richard Wrights) now involved significant literary figures whose temporary or permanent abode abroad need not necessarily be interpreted as an anti-American gesture. Instead, they may have realized much sooner than the American politicians and the windling isolationists of the Middle West the basic unity of Western culture, the irresistibly progressing amalgamation of Europe and America which makes these two continents the very bulwark of the Western way of life and which also makes the actual seat of residence of an author relatively unimportant. Other factors tend to build bridges between the two continents — need refer only to the flood of German authors, liberals, pacifists, socialists and others, who in the 1930's made New York the headquarters for German literature in exile: Mann, Zweig, Verfel, Toller, Döblin, Remarque, Brecht and others, who derived new strength and new resilience from their stay in a country that was so eager to welcome them and to absorb their cultural contributions. Many American authors have also begun to deal most sympathetically with the problems and the heart-aches of European immigrants as they try to adjust themselves to the American way of life — for instance, Willa Cather with her beautiful novel *My Antonia* which deals with a Bohemian girl in the Middle West, or d'Agostino with his *Olives in the Apple Tree* about the tragedies and the comedies of Italian immigrants. Nothing characterizes better the tremendous advantages of the American melting-pot, the breaking down of a narrowly Anglo-Saxon pattern and its permeation with a dozen rich and old cultural traditions of the Old World, amalgamating all of them into something which is new and fascinating and strikingly American, than the racial background of some of modern America's leading authors and critics — for there is the German background in Theodore Dreiser, the Portuguese ancestry of John Dos Passos, the Italian aspects in Frances Winwar and Bernard De Voto, the Armenian contribution in William Saroyan, the Jewish element in Sholem Asch and, last but not certainly not least, the Negro problem in Langston Hughes or Richard Wright.

I should like to conclude by referring briefly to two modern American novels which deal with this unceasing and important groping for an acceptable *modus vivendi* between the United States and Europe — one *Dodsworth* by Sinclair Lewis, showing

the tragic and seemingly unbridgeable cleavage between the two worlds, while the other, *The Plutocrat* by Booth Tarkington, points the way to a better understanding and a happier solution. In *Dodsworth*, an American self-made man and millionaire, it was the wife who felt attracted to the social splendour of Europe and who finally persuaded her husband to accompany her on a grand tour of European capitals, where she was immediately and entirely absorbed by the glittering life among aristocrats, gamblers and gigolos. The book may be the tragedy of an ageing and restless woman who is ashamed of her country and bored with her good husband, and who prefers the tinsel of Monte Carlo to such an extent that she finally asks for a divorce—but here we are concerned more with Dodsworth himself, the American abroad, strong, self-reliant, proud of his America, of his factories, of his success in life, of his ability to contribute to the civilization and therefore to the comfort of his fellow-men, instinctively aware of the fact that he is more of a man and a builder than all these 'fourflushers' and phrase-makers with monocles and spats in the *salons* and the casinos of Europe. Theirs were two entirely different worlds, and when he agreed to leave his beloved but ever so foolish wife behind and to return to America alone, he admitted not only that he had been defeated and that his way of life had been rejected, but also that the two worlds had nothing in common and that it was far more than the Atlantic Ocean which separated the Middle West from the Riviera.

In Booth Tarkington's *The Plutocrat*, however, the cleavage was mended at least in part, for though the American capitalist Earl Tinker, on a Mediterranean cruise, felt uncomfortable and contemptuous amidst the smoothness and the shallowness of European socialites and aestheticizing American expatriates, and had no real appreciation even of the culture of Greece, his outlook changed completely when, in Italy and in the sand-covered ruins of North Africa, he discovered the lasting traces of the Roman Empire of bygone centuries. He worshipped and fully understood the greatness of ancient Rome, for Romans, like Americans, were essentially men of deeds and not of words, engineers and statesmen rather than philosophers and artists, empire-builders who built grandiosely and lastingly, for the greatest comfort of the greatest number of people—highways, aqueducts, cities, canals and theatres—and who were unrelenting in pushing on and on the frontiers of the kind of civilization they knew. Today, our reverence for classical antiquity embraces

both Greece and Rome, for though Greek culture served as the basis also of the Roman Empire, the genius of Rome had added a political wisdom and statesmanship of its own, which is no less deserving of our admiration—and Booth Tarkington leaves us with the reassuring feeling that a similar close inter-relationship exists also between the spiritual foundation of Europe and the material expansion and perfection of America. Indeed we can say that the two are complementary, each one adding to the rich and complex texture of the Western World that which it is best qualified to give—and what, at times, seem to be unbridgeable contrasts and differences of emphasis will, in the eyes of posterity, flow together as facets of the same basic Western culture of the twentieth century. The scope of that culture is wide and elastic enough to allow for differences of approach and expression; there is ample room, as well as ample need, not only for the supreme art of Michelangelo or the wisdom of Goethe, but also for the constructive statesmanship of Thomas Jefferson and the ingenious technical inventions of Thomas Alva Edison. The two are inseparable; they are the foundation of our modern way of life.

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MARGUERITE D'AUTRICHE (1480-1530)

Two accomplishments alone in her comparatively short life would have made Marguerite d'Autriche's name stand out amongst the great names of the Renaissance: the construction of the church of Brou-en-Bresse with its magnificent monuments, and the peace treaty, known as 'La Paix des Dames', concluded in 1529 at Cambrai, during her regency of the Netherlands. Both these achievements symbolize the mission she fulfilled in her life as a lover and patroness of the arts, herself a poet and a wise ruler, using her native wits, her education and later her wide experience for the benefit of the country entrusted to her: the Netherlands.

Her court there at Malines was a famous artistic centre where she was surrounded by artists of high repute: the painters Jacopo de Barbari and Bernaert van Orley (Marguerite's portrait in widow's dress gives an exquisite example of his art), the sculptor Konrad Meyt, Rombout Keldermans, Guyot de Beauregard, etc. Albrecht Dürer was a visitor at her court and some of the stained glass windows at Brou were executed from his

sketches. Erasmus of Rotterdam received a pension from Marguerite. Chroniclers and poets owed much to her generosity. Cornelius Grapheus, Jehan Molinet and Jehan Le Maire de Belges formed part of her household and wrote verse and prose in her praise. Cornelius Agrippa dedicated his: '*La prééminence des femmes*' to her. Thanks to Marguerite, historians were able to say of the seat of the court: '*Fièvre d'être devenue ainsi un miroir de la vie internationale la bonne ville de Malines avait fait peau neuve.*' Contemporary reports wax enthusiastic about the treasures of her library, the sculpture, the magnificence of the paintings in her possession (e.g. by Jean van Eyck, Memling, Roger van der Weyden) and her collections of exquisite *objets d'art*.

What sort of a person was this remarkable woman and how much personal happiness was her share?

Bella gerant alii, tu felix Austria nube
Nam quae Mars aliis, dat tibi regna Venus.

It was by this motto, the guiding principle of her family, the Habsburgs, that she was compelled to live. 'Felix Austria' it says, and the House of Austria was indeed fortunate to have a woman of Marguerite's devotion, but 'felix' certainly did not apply to her own fate. Much of her poetry expresses her own feelings — feelings which are in tune with those of many a Romantic poet:

Deuil et ennuy, soussy, regret et peine,
Ont eslongué ma plaisance mondaine,
Dont à part moy je me plains et tourmente,
Et en espoir n'ay plus un brin d'attente:
Véez là comment Fortune me pourmaine.
Ceste longheur vault pis que mort soudaine
Je n'ay pensée que joye me rameine,
Ma fantaissie est de déplaisir pleine;
Car devant moy à toute heure se présente
Deuil et ennuy.

(Manuscript 228 — Brussels)

Marguerite was the daughter of Maximilian I and Mary of Burgundy and the houses of Habsburg and Burgundy were to shape her life. Her upbringing and her inclination made her above all a Burgundian princess, just as later her nephew Charles V never ceased to feel a Flemish prince. The lands inherited from her mother, which had belonged to Philip the Good and Charles the Bold, were dearest to her heart, and yet her respect and devotion to her father and his family decided the course of her life.

Maximilian was a most picturesque figure in his time, the transition period between the waning of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. He was a visionary and a fantastic dreamer, a patron of the arts and a poet himself, a shrewd and unscrupulous politician: 'C'est pour les Allemands le dernier des paladins, "le roi blanc" et en même temps "le roi sage," Weisskunig, le héros Teuerdank de qui l'on attend l'union de toutes les forces allemandes, le rétablissement de la souveraineté du christianisme, la croisade contre les Turcs.'¹ His management of the Vienna University was exemplary: he called important men of the 'New Learning' into many of the chairs. At Maximilian's death the Vienna University had five thousand students and a high reputation for scholarship. In his quaint Latin he used to say: 'Est enim una res miserabilis, nostra paupertas', thus expressing his constant lack of money. To increase his wealth and the power of his House was the main objective of his life, and this he endeavoured to achieve above all by means of matrimonial alliances. His various schemes for himself, his two children, Philip and Marguerite, and later for his grandchildren seem to the modern reader quite fantastic. As in other reigning families the marriage plans disregarded age, personality or inclination completely. How much help could be obtained in warfare, how much gold, how much influence was to be gained — these were the main motives in choosing a husband or a wife. And Marguerite was to be a precious asset in Maximilian's policy.

At the age of three the little princess was taken to the court of France to be brought up as the Dauphine and the future wife of Charles VIII. His father, Louis XI, died during that same year and Anne de Beaujeu became Regent for her brother during his minority. It was a gloomy court to which Marguerite was introduced, overshadowed by Louis XI's illness and subsequent death. Of Anne de Beaujeu contemporaries say: 'She had strict principles and like her father her main wish was to dominate.' There is no doubt that where her country's interests were concerned she was a successful ruler. From that time we have a letter from Marguerite in which she shows herself as a spirited young girl, who did not give in meekly to tyranny, even if the King, her future husband, had given the order:

Madame ma bonne tante, il faut que je me plaigne à vous comme à celle en qui j'ay mon espérance, de ma cousine que

¹ H. Hauser and A. Renaudet.

l'on m'a voulu oster, qui est tout le pasetemps que j'ay, . . . car plus grand déplaisir ne me scauroit-on faire . . . lettres adressantes à ma dite cousine, par lesquelles le Roy lui écrivait qu'elle s'en allast; toutefois je ne l'ay pas voulu souffrir, jusques à ce que vous en eusse advertie.²

When Charles VIII was married in 1491 to Anne de Bretagne, Marguerite's mission in France had come to an inglorious end. Yet only after the treaty of Senlis (1493) was she returned to Maximilian, with most of her dowry, free to suit new projects of her father.

The shrewd Ferdinand of Aragon was an opponent influential enough to be won, and so Marguerite was married in 1497 to his son Juan. A few months later he died leaving her with child, but the infant was stillborn. She seems to have been rather popular in Spain and to have won the affection of the royal family. Only in 1499 did she return to the Netherlands.

Two years later Marguerite was married again, this time to Philibert-le-Beau, Duke of Savoy. Contemporary documents give a detailed account of Marguerite's solemn entry into Geneva, Chambéry and Turin. The Burgundian state processions and displays were renowned for their richness, their gorgeous colours, so this wedding procession was quite in keeping with tradition.

At last a period of true happiness ensued for the princess. The Duke of Savoy was a wise politician, steering a middle course between France and the Empire, not fighting for either of them. He was loved by his subjects and had their well-being in mind. He seems to have had all the assets expected of a noble prince at that time: courage in warfare and hunting, a taste for colourful processions and lavish displays, but also a true devotion to his wife and his people. Although later chroniclers have said of him: 'peut-être si Philibert n'était pas mort si jeune, il aurait lassé sa femme qui était d'une intelligence supérieure', there is no certainty of that. Following a hunting expedition, Philibert contracted pleurisy and died shortly afterwards (1504). Members of her household give a heart-rending account of Marguerite's grief, and of her cries and sobs echoing through the castle. In the 'Couronne Margaritique' Le Maire de Belges tells how she had her own beautiful hair cut off and that of her ladies too. Genuine sorrow moved her own words:

² Letter of Marguerite d'Autriche to Anne de France, Dame de Beaujeu.

Pourquoy coucher seulette et à part moy,
Qu'il me faudra user de patience!
Las! C'est pour moi trop grande pénitence;
Certes ouy, et plus quant ne le voy!

True to her character, 'la sage Marguerite d'Autriche' mastered her grief and turned her energy towards the planning of the magnificent sepulchral monument at Brou-en-Bresse, fulfilling thus a vow made by her mother-in-law, Marguerite de Bourbon (she had promised the erection of a convent there, should her husband recover after a hunting accident, but she herself died before she could carry out her promise).

Marguerite d'Autriche ordered three tombs:

voulons être inhumée emprès le corps de feu nôtre chier seigneur et mary, Philibert de Savoye, que Dieu absolve, du côté senestre; au destre sera le corps de feu Marguerite de Bourbon, sa mère, et le corps de mondict seigneur et mary au milieu.

It could not be specified more clearly in her will, signed in February 1505. In August of that same year a treaty was drawn up between Maximilian, Charles III of Savoy, and Marguerite, giving her for her lifetime the land of Bourg-en-Bresse. Like all documents written or dictated by her, these papers show the mind of a level-headed woman, with a strong will and the tenacity necessary to carry out well conceived plans. These characteristics become obvious in her vast and varied correspondence with her own father, kings, councillors, ambassadors or even the Mother Superior of the order of the Annonciades at Bruges.

We know many details of the construction of the masterpiece at Brou, thanks to Marguerite's minute instructions and continuous supervision in order to have her exact wishes carried out. White marble from Carrara and black from Liège were used. Le Maire supervised the cutting of some of the marble and showed himself very much offended when Marguerite disliked it. He describes in detail the danger to which his life was exposed in the quarry and adds: 'Donc ma fortune est telle que je bas tousjours les buissons et ung autre prent les oisillons.' Marguerite promptly dismissed artists who did not obey her orders. Jean Perréal, painter at the court of France, supplied the first extensive sketches, but was soon replaced by Loys van Boghem who supervised the construction of the church. Konrad Meyt is one of the outstanding names amongst well-known sculptors employed to carve the beautiful figures of the three tombs. Dürer and Titian sketched some of the windows of the

chapels. In keeping with the custom of the time Marguerite and Philibert in rich court dress are represented in the exquisitely coloured glass windows. This glass painting shows Marguerite's high forehead, large clear eyes, well-shaped nose, firm set lips, the lower one protruding slightly (a characteristic of the Habsburg family) and her famous 'aureins' hair. Her 'international' taste is obvious in the choice of the artists and the design of the church, representing with its tombs a true monument of these polyglot times; and yet here again, as in her art collection at Malines, Marguerite's marked preference for the Flemish-Gothic (Tertiary Gothic) style is evident. From Flanders, where she had been called after the death of her brother Philip, she directed the work at Brou, which was completed only after her death.

Ecce iterum novus dolor accidit

says the first line of Marguerite's epitaph to her beloved brother, who died suddenly in Spain and left his large possessions to the future Charles V, then a child of six. In 1507 Maximilian invested Marguerite with supreme power over his grandchildren and the Netherlands:

La tutelle, mainbournye et gouvernement de noz très chiers et très aymés enfans Charles, archiduc d'Austriche, prince d'Espagne, etc. et de ses frère [sic] et soeurs . . . et ordonnons nostre lieutenant générale et gouverneresse et administreresse des persones, corps et biens, terres, seigneuries et pays de nousdis enfans . . . avecq plein et entier povoyr et auctorité de faire, pourvoir et accomplir en toutes choses . . . tant en faictz de justice, de grâce et de finances, offices, bénéfices, confirmacions et franchises

The 'Procès-verbal de la prestation de serment à Gand', like other documents of the times, is in French and Latin. After Maximilian's titles there is the formula: 'A tous ceulx qui ces présentes verront, salut.'

From 1507 to 1515 (Charles V's minority) and from 1517 to 1530, with short intervals, Marguerite governed the Netherlands. This was a difficult task for anyone. Local pride and factional jealousies had to be dealt with. Various privileges clashed with the interests of any authority endeavouring to centralize, no real assimilation of the different provinces had yet been achieved. Invasions (e.g. those of the Duke of Guelders) by neighbouring sovereigns were frequent. However Marguerite showed herself a most capable and sensible regent, whose common sense dominated all her actions. She surrounded herself

with excellent counsellors: the wise president of Bresse, Mercurin de Gattinara, Louis Baranguier, Jean de Marnix, Laurent de Gorrevod (represented in the Brou chapel). The humanist Adrian Dedel, a professor at Louvain, became tutor to Charles V, and later was elected pope as Hadrian VI. To the education of her nephews and nieces Marguerite gave much care and thought. Charles could not have been in a better school for diplomacy and politics, neither could he have found a more devoted guide in the intricate game of statesmanship.

The vast correspondence of Marguerite gives a very good idea of both her everyday life at the court of Malines, Brussels or Antwerp and of all the important contemporary political events. Her correspondence with her father (1507-19) reveals her as an intelligent, capable woman, whom the people of her generation praised in many ways. She had only little German (her main language was French, but in addition she knew Latin well, also Spanish and apparently some English), and so her father had to write in French which was very quaint and often mixed with German and Latin. She writes in the charming and naïve French prose of the time, as found in chronicles, memoirs and letters, untouched by the bombastic style of the 'Rhétoriciens'. When Maximilian writes: 'Ma bonne fille—j'ay resceu . . . les belles chemises et huves lesquelles avés de les faire de vostre main, dont sumus fort jeuieulx . . . nostre pooir du cors sera recomforté à l'encontre du bon senteur et dusceur de telle belle thoele, lesquels usunt les angels en Paradis pour leor abillement', it reveals her as a homely woman and shows a most attractive side of the emperor in his genuine gratitude. The well-being of her charges is frequently discussed: the dangers of measles and the plague, what precautions are to be taken against them, or young Charles's liking for hunting, etc.

In his letters Maximilian explains his wishes as to another marriage for Marguerite, one of her proposed husbands being Henry VII of England. But the archduchess is firm in her refusal, she wishes to remain faithful to Philibert-le-Beau's memory, and she speaks of her former marriages: 'dont elle s'est mal trouvée'. She is also firm and determined when Maximilian wants help in his eternal money troubles. In spite of his express request: 'nostre plésir est tel', her answer is: 'on ne sauroit trouver ung denier pour faire la depesche', or 'il n'y a point moyen de trouver ung solz en noy finances.' Daughter and father are even rude to each other, and Maximilian speaks of a carbuncle he has sent her to make amends for his im-

politeness. Although she has always the 'honneur et prouffit' of the emperor and of the dynasty in mind, she does what according to her opinion is right, even if it crosses the emperor's will: 'ce n'est le cas de femme vefve de troter et aller visiter armées pour le plésir.'

Peace was her continuous aim and its achievement the guiding principle of her politics; her father often had different plans, to which she once answered: 'Sy vous supplye, Monseigneur, avoir sur le tout bon advis, et y tellement pourveoir que les pays de ce jeusne prince ne soyent piglez et adommaigez durant sa minorité; car ce vous seroit honte et à moy regret merveilleux.' A good understanding with England was another aspect of her policy; even in war, according to Marguerite, the English do their duty: 'Les Angloix se acquitent très bien et font plus de guerre aux ennemys que tous les aultres.' She also worked for peaceful commercial relations with England and the Netherlands. With Maximilian's death in 1519 this correspondence comes to an end. Marguerite again found touching words in her grief:

C'est la Complainte que fit la fille unique de Maximilien,
empereur, depuis son doloireux trespas.

O Attropos! . . . tu as mis en cendre
Les quatre princes que au monde aymoye mieulx.
Murdry les a trestous devant mes ieulx;
Les deux premiers si furent mes maris/
Dont maintes gens eurent les cueurs marris/
Prince d'Espagne et le duc de Savoye/
Que plus bel homme au monde ne scavoye.
Encoires plus pour grever mon oultrage/
Les prins tous deux en la fleur de leur caige/
Car à dix et neuf ans le prince trespassa

.
Et le troisesme/ mon seul frère/ estoit
Roy des Hespaignes et Naples à bon droit.

.
Pour le quatriesme/ o Mort trop oultrageuse!
Tu as estain la fleur chevaleureuse
Et as vaincu celluy qui fut vainqueur/
Maximilien/ ce très noble empereur/
Qui en bonté à nul ne se compère.

.

From 1517 she governed the Netherlands for her nephew Charles V and was a most valuable friend and counsellor to him in his vast empire. It was for him that she and Louise de

Savoie, Regent of France for Francis I, achieved the 'Paix des Dames', the peace treaty of Cambrai, 1529, celebrated by Clément Marot in a poem overflowing with enthusiasm. After comparing the present princesses with the Greek ones whose

pomme d'or causa grandes oppresses

he sings

Gloire à Dieu seul, aux hommes reconfort

Amour de peuple aux trois³ grandes Princesses

Dessus la terre.

Thus the rondeau reflects the satisfaction of the common people who had longed for peace. Marguerite d'Autriche conducted very cleverly as a 'diplomate consommée' these complicated negotiations. The immediate result of this peace agreement was the marriage between Francis I and Eléonore, eldest sister of Charles V, and the complete surrender of France's claims in Italy. Subsequently it assured the power of Charles V and of the Habsburgs in Europe. The peace did not last, but this does not diminish its accomplishment by Marguerite, who thus proved herself to have merited a place in history amongst the 'grands réalisateurs'.

Complete devotion and intelligent tenacity throughout her life in all things concerning her house and her station were characteristic of this remarkable woman, even to her last letter, written a few hours before her death (1530) and addressed to Charles V:

Vous laissez vos pays de pardeça, que durant vostre absence n'ay seulement gardé, comme les me laissâtes à votre partement, mais grandement augmentéz, et vous rends le gouvernement d'iccultz, auquel me cuyde estre léalement acqictée, et tellement que j'en espère rémunération divine, contentement de vous, monseigneur, et gré de vos subjects; vous recommandant singulièrement la paix et par especial avec les roys de France et d'Angleterre. . . .

De Malinès, le dernier jour de novembre 1530

Vostre très humble tante

Marguerite

On her monument in Brou she had this motto carved in stone:

Fortune, Infortune, Fort une.

The enigmatic words left historians and artists guessing as to their real meaning. The words of those who lived in close contact with her, as well as her own writings, seem to explain it:

³ The third princess was Marguerite d'Angoulême.

her destiny in this world was to unite in an exemplary fashion by the will of God misfortune with fortune. Her life story shows again and again that valuable gift of moral strength she found in herself and in her firm belief in God's providence. In her many trials there was always a short period of wild despair, but reason soon got the better of her. She found consolation in helping others, in the affairs of state, in the arts, in her own creative work.

Written in French or Latin, using mostly a simple, unaffected language at a time when the 'Rhétoriciens' held sway, her poetry generally reflects melancholy, regrets in many variations, complaints about the death of people dear to her. And yet there is constantly present an innate power to bear these adversities, to trust in God and in His good counsel. What is so appealing in her verse is the sincerity of her feelings and the very personal approach. Emotions such as love mingled with sorrow, the cruelty of fate, the transience of happiness recur constantly. Not many poems are in a lighter vein. There are those where she speaks of her 'amant vert' (which gave rise to many fantastic speculations until it was discovered that this was a bird that she had cherished much), or the verse just written to amuse her ladies in waiting, to be used for games at court. 'Pleasant but insignificant' are the words that come to mind for these entertaining stanzas, but in tragic mood her poetry is stamped with talent conveying a real, deeply felt emotion.

Merely as a woman she had only a short span of human happiness, but as a gifted princess of wide experience she brought much affection, understanding and wisdom to all people and offices entrusted to her. Born into the ranks of the leaders, she showed herself a true woman, who knew how to serve and how to rule.

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THOMAS MANN AND DOKTOR FAUSTUS

Man muss sich für eine Sache eingesetzt haben, um sich für ihren Ueberwinder halten zu dürfen.¹

It cannot be said that, when Thomas Mann died in August 1955, he and his *Doktor Faustus* had ceased to be bones of contention in Germany. *Doktor Faustus* seems to many Germans an indiscriminate condemnation of the German people. They also resent Thomas Mann's criticism of Germany's musical genius. They ask where are the counterweights to such a negative attack. Bernt von Heiseler's, one of the better known younger dramatists, criticism of Thomas Mann's attitude to Germany may be taken as being typical of the voiced and unvoiced hostility or resentment to Mann. He writes in a letter to Mann in July 1955, when the author was already seriously ill:

Jedes anklagende Wort, so schien mir, dass Sie gegen das Regime Hitlers schleuderten, hätte begleitet sein müssen von Ihrem Bekenntnis zur Deutschheit: dem grünenden, jahrtausendalten Baum, dem ja auch Sie, Thomas Mann, alles verdanken, was Sie sind! Aber die Leidenschaft der Stunde hielt auch Sie befangen; so kamen von Ihnen Worte, nicht gegen den Gewalthaber nur, auch gegen unser Volk und seine Wesensart, die bitter zu hören und schwer zu vergessen waren.²

Mann was too sick to reply to this himself, but he authorized his wife to answer for him. She told Heiseler to read her husband's lecture, 'Deutschland und die Deutschen', 'in dem er sich vollständig zu Deutschland bekennt, alles was er an Gutem und

¹ Heinz Risse, *Dann kam der Tag*, p. 37.

² In *Deutsche Kommentare*, 1 Oktober 1955, Herausg. Karl Silex. See also Hans Egon Holthusen, *Die Welt ohne Transzendenz* (Hamburg, Ellermann 1949); and Johannes Klein, 'Thomas Mann: Doktor Faustus', in *Der Deutschunterricht* (1951), Heft 3, Klett, Stuttgart.

Bösem über die Deutschen gesagt hat, auch auf sich bezieht.³ This naturally applies also to his *Doktor Faustus*. There is sufficient proof for the correctness of this statement in that work, as well as in Mann's account of its genesis, in other works of his, and in a total assessment of Mann's personality. There can be little doubt that a too one-sided reading of *Doktor Faustus* is partly responsible for much ill informed criticism of Mann and his *Doktor Faustus*.

Rainer Maria Rilke advised readers of his *Malte Laurids Brigge* that it should read 'gegen den Strich'. That may also be good advice for readers of *Doktor Faustus*. We must not forget the mask that Adrian Leverkühn is told to wear by his mentor Kretzschmar.⁴ Though Mann wanted to write with *Doktor Faustus* 'nichts Geringeres als den Roman meiner Epoche',⁵ the epoch of bourgeois society of which he is so highly critical, which he believes has come to an end in the cataclysm of the second world war, and of which he was however such an outstanding representative, this novel also provides him, as *Malte* did for Rilke, with the possibility of a personal settlement and a catharsis. An excerpt from Mann's diary, quoted in *Die Entstehung des Doktor Faustus* runs:

Wieviel enthält der Faustus von meiner Lebensstimmung!
Ein radikales Bekenntnis im Grunde. Das war das Aufwühlende,
von Anbeginn, an dem Buch.⁶

Except for Hanno Buddenbrook Mann has never loved a character more than Adrian Leverkühn.⁷

It is the interpenetration of the historical and social and the personal element in its most sensitive form, the artist, that has given the whole of Thomas Mann's work its deciding character. But in *Doktor Faustus* it is the artist in despair. When the social milieu from which he springs is poisoned, then the artist and his art are poisoned and they are doomed to die. It is Adrian Leverkühn's, the German composer's, fate to have lived at a time (1885-1940) in which 'blutiger Barbarismus' and 'blutloser Intellektualismus'⁸ are manifest,

wo auf fromme, nüchterne Weis, mit rechten Dingen kein
Werk mehr zu tun und die Kunst unmöglich geworden ist ohne
Teufelshilf und höllisch Feuer unter dem Kessel . . . Ja und ja,

³ As above: *Deutsche Kommentare*.

⁴ Th. Mann, *Doktor Faustus*. Stockholmer Gesamtausgabe. (Wien, Bermann-Fischer, 1948), p. 205.

⁵ Th. Mann, *Entstehung des Doktor Faustus* (Frankfurt, Suhrkamp, 1949), p. 38. ⁶ *ibid.*, p. 136, see also pp. 11, 23, 82. ⁷ *ibid.*, p. 81. ⁸ *ibid.*, p. 138.

liebe Gesellen, dass die Kunst stockt und zu schwer worden ist und sich selbst verhöhnt, dass alles zu schwer worden ist und Gottes armer Mensch nicht mehr aus und ein weiss in seiner Not, *das ist wohl Schuld der Zeit.*⁹

This is part of Adrian's confession before his mind collapses. Because the times are to blame and because he cannot live in any other way than as an artist, Adrian consciously and willingly and encouraged by his mentor Kretzschmar enters into the demonic union. Kretzschmar and Adrian know about the pernicious relationship between their art and the society they live in. Kretzschmar makes it clear to Adrian, that only by fulfilling the times, can they be reduced *ad absurdum*, and the break through into a new order be made.

Das vitale Bedürfnis der Kunst nach revolutionärem Fortschritt und nach dem Zustandekommen des Neuen ist angewiesen auf das Vehikel des stärksten subjektiven Gefühls für die Abgestandenheit, das Nichts-mehr-zu-sagen-haben, das Unmöglich-geworden-sein der noch gang und gäben Mittel, und es bedient sich des scheinbar Unvitalen, der persönlichen Ermüdbarkeit und intellektuellen Gelangweiltheit, des durchschauenden Ekels vor dem 'Wie-es-gemacht-wird', der verfluchten Neigung, die Dinge im Licht ihrer eigenen Parodie zu sehen, des 'Sinnes für Komik',—ich sage: der Lebens- und Fortschrittswille der Kunst nimmt die Maske dieser mattherzigen persönlichen Eigenschaften vor, um sich darin zu manifestieren, zu objektivieren, zu erfüllen. Ist Ihnen das zuviel der Metaphysik?¹⁰

This process of overcoming by fulfilment fits in well with Rilke's and Malte's 'Ertragen der echten Schwere' in Paris.

Through the demonic union which starts with Adrian's visit to the syphilitic Hetaera Esmeralda in Pressburg—and this union takes place against the warnings of Hetaera—Adrian is damned. His meeting with the devil six years after his infection is nothing but the 'Konfirmation'¹¹ of this demonic union. The fact that it is entirely due to a willed and conscious act by Adrian does away with the usual pact in the Faust tradition and the whole quarrel about the identity of the devil settles itself.¹² Though Adrian is damned, he performs through his life and

⁹ *Dr F.*, p. 745. The italics are mine. See also *Entst.*, p. 60.

¹⁰ *Dr F.*, pp. 204-5; see the crucial discussion between Kretzschmar and Adrian on pp. 202-5.

¹¹ *ibid.*, p. 374.

¹² See here Erich Kahler, 'Säkularisierung des Teufels.—Thomas Manns Faust,' in *Die Stockholmer Neue Rundschau—Auswahl* (Frankfurt, Suhrkamp, 1949).

death something which in literary psychology is the function of the scapegoat (of which Goethe's Werther and Rilke's Malte are good examples) and which in religion is the sacrifice of the saviour.

Lädt aber Einer den Teufel zu Gast, um darüber hinweg und zum Durchbruch zu kommen, der zieht seine Seel und *nimmt die Schuld der Zeit auf den eigenen Hals*, dass er verdammt ist.¹³

By taking the guilt of his times upon himself and thereby redeeming them, Adrian justifies that ray of hope, however faint, at the end of the book, that may grow and illuminate the future. Here it is interesting that Thomas Mann's original version of the end was too optimistic for his critic W. Adorno, whose invaluable help Mann acknowledges with great warmth in his *Entstehung*. Agreeing with Adorno's criticism, Mann says: 'Ich war zu optimistisch, zu gutmütig und direkt gewesen, hatte zu viel Licht angezündet, den Trost zu dick aufgetragen.'¹⁴ He had realized the danger 'mit meinem Roman einen neuen deutschen Mythos kreieren zu helfen, den Deutschen mit ihrer "Dämonie" zu schmeicheln.'¹⁵ Only then did Mann coin the phrases 'Transzendenz der Verzweiflung', 'Wunder, das über den Glauben geht' and 'ein Licht in der Nacht'.¹⁶ All these phrases are perfect descriptions of the faith that new life will spring from death. They paraphrase Rilke's 'Umschlagslehre' very well. Adrian Leverkühn's necessary yet also sacrificial death entails a faint but definite hope for Germany, a hope supported by the prayer which the chronicler Serenus Zeitblom speaks for Adrian and Germany at the end of the novel.

On a more personal level Adrian Leverkühn's figure enables Thomas Mann to lay the ghosts of Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, most directly that of the latter. For long Mann had been under the spell of these two masters, paying tribute particularly in *Buddenbrooks* to Schopenhauer, and in *Tonio Kröger* to Nietzsche. For most of his life they were kindred souls. But with *Doktor Faustus* Mann detaches himself from their influence. He has realized the flaws in their philosophy. For Schopenhauer and Nietzsche art was the great comforter in a world of suffering, the first step to man's salvation. Art, and particularly music, offered him the opportunity of freeing himself from the pains of individuation. For Nietzsche all problems in life, as ex-

¹³ *Dr F.*, p. 745. The italics are mine

¹⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 52-3.

¹⁴ *Entst.*, pp. 194-5.

¹⁶ *Dr F.*, pp. 732-3.

pressed in 'Der Wille zur Macht', were essentially aesthetic problems. Bitter experience in this world had taught Thomas Mann that an aesthetic way of life can go hand in hand with a total disregard for individual moral responsibility and the most terrible acts of barbarism. The most acrid chapters in *Doktor Faustus* are those in which Serenus Zeitblom describes Munich society, where there was so much refined aesthetic living and so many personal tragedies. Thomas Mann speaks here so much from personal experience that the figures that appear in this part of the novel are only thinly veiled characters from his Munich surroundings. Serenus says: 'Hier kann niemand mir folgen, der nicht die Nachbarschaft von Aesthetizismus und Barbarei, den Aesthetizismus als Wegbereiter der Barbarei in eigener Seele, wie ich, erlebt hat.'¹⁷

Music, with its suspect nature, its proximity to the demonic, the most German of all the arts,¹⁸ becomes for Mann the 'Paradigma für Allgemeineres';¹⁹ it stands for all the arts, for the culture of the epoch that Mann wants to span; and Adrian Leverkühn, the musician, is the representative. Music, 'schauerlich bloss gestellt durch die Rolle, die sie im nationalsozialistischen Staat gespielt'²⁰ is condemned with Adrian, and with him Nietzsche stands condemned because of the identity that exists between the two artists. 'Da ist die Verflechtung der Tragödie Leverkühns mit derjenigen Nietzsches, dessen Namen wohlweislich in dem ganzen Buch nicht erscheint, eben weil der euphorische Musiker an seine Stelle gesetzt ist.'²¹ Nietzsche's visit to a brothel in Cologne, his contracting of syphilis, are 'mounted' into Leverkühn's life. Leverkühn dies on the day on which Nietzsche died, 25 August. More details have been taken from Nietzsche's life, so that the novel can justly be called a Nietzsche novel.

Nietzsche's infection, the union with disease – and how many interesting fruits had sprung in Mann's work from disease, from *Buddenbrooks* to *Zauberberg* – spurred Nietzsche's artistic creativeness. In Adrian Leverkühn's life this union is tantamount to Faust's pact with the devil. Twenty-four years of heightened genius and superhuman ability as an artist are the reward. Adrian's contact with the 'Gottheiten der Tiefe',²² the 'Dämonische und Widervernünftige',²³ the whole sphere that goes in Nietzsche's *Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der*

¹⁷ *ibid.*, p. 558.

²⁰ *ibid.*, p. 199.

²³ *ibid.*, p. 11.

¹⁸ *Entst.*, pp. 110, 165

²¹ *ibid.*, p. 34.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, p. 41.

²² *Dr F.*, pp. 19, 753.

Musik under the name of the dionysiac, also produces a burst of aesthetic creativeness which is meant to represent in its esoteric brilliance and its unsurpassable intellectualism, as his 'Apocalipsis cum figuris' and 'Fausti Wehklage' show, the culmination and fulfilment of the culture of the whole epoch. Here Mann's virtuosity is playing with all stops drawn, a stupendous effort of literary fireworks.

Thus far the Adrian-Nietzsche identity in the realm of aesthetics. But now the moment has come for Thomas Mann to draw the line between himself and Nietzsche, to show up the flaws of Nietzsche's aesthetic philosophy as a philosophy of life. Adrian's contact with the demonic has chilled his soul. This chill is the most marked characteristic of the devil in their conversation in the central chapter of the novel. All human contacts that Adrian attempts (and he was forbidden any by the devil, because they warm), such as that with Marie Godeau and the child Echo, end in tragic failure. Socially, Adrian-Nietzsche must remain barren.

In Nietzsche's *Geburt der Tragödie* the dionysiac element, the dark urges of instinct, the demonic, were not destructive forces but the essential element in the wedding with the apolline out of which forever new and beautiful children are born. An essentially aesthetic process must not be transferred to the social sphere where other laws operate, the laws of ethics. This is, I believe, what Mann wanted to show when Serenus Zeitblom, whose educational aim at the beginning of the book was entirely in keeping with the premises of Nietzsche's *Geburt der Tragödie*,²⁴ asks at the end:

Werde ich wieder einer humanistischen Prima den Kultur-Gedanken ans Herz legen, in welchem Ehrfurcht vor den Gottheiten der Tiefe mit dem sittlichen Kult Olympischer Vernunft und Klarheit zu *einer* Frömmigkeit verschmilzt?²⁵

The answer, I think, is no, and this is supported in Mann's later lecture on 'Nietzsche im Lichte unserer Erfahrung',²⁶ in which Mann accuses Nietzsche of two basic errors. The first is a false conception of the relationship between instinct and intellect, Nietzsche being guilty of overestimating the importance of instinct, the whole sphere of the dionysiac. And secondly Nietzsche falsely considered life and morality as opposites. 'Der

²⁴ *ibid.*, p. 19. ²⁵ *ibid.*, p. 753. The italics are Th. Mann's.

²⁶ Th. Mann, *Nietzsche im Lichte unserer Erfahrung* (Frankfurt, Suhrkamp, 1948).

wahre Gegensatz ist der von Ethik und Aesthetik. Nicht die Moral, die Schönheit ist todverbunden.'²⁷ It is here that Mann's full stature as a moralist and his concern for man as a social being can be fully seen.

The spell that Nietzsche cast over a whole generation of artists, on many of the French symbolists, on Stefan George, Rainer Maria Rilke, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Hermann Hesse and Thomas Mann, and the fascination of their wanting to fuse through their art the dionysiac and the apolline into a consistent philosophy of art and life, has presented European literature with an incredibly rich harvest. George's 'Helle und Rausch', Rilke's 'beide Bereiche' as incorporated in their works became esoteric religions for their creators. But they paid the price of social estrangement from which they suffered throughout their lives. Hofmannsthal came to recognize the importance of the 'Allomatische', the distinctly different nature of the social sphere. As a result he broke with his early aestheticism and freed himself from George's bondage. Hermann Hesse and Thomas Mann lived long enough to see with their own eyes the dangerous relationship of aestheticism and barbarism. In his *Glasperlenspiel* Hesse also detaches himself from the Nietzsche heritage.

It is not true that Thomas Mann with his *Doktor Faustus* condemned Germany in all eternity, as Holthusen seems to think, when he says that Mann should distinguish between the 'zeitliche Wohlfahrt' and the 'ewige Heil' of a nation, 'denn der Sinn der Geschichte bleibt offen bis zum Gericht.'²⁸ It is just this distinction that Mann makes. It is an epoch, a diseased phase in German history that he condemns, and with it he condemns the erroneous beliefs which he himself once held.

What of the future? Mann does not commit himself to a clearly defined ideological platform. His *Doktor Faustus* is conceived as a landmark at the end of an epoch. Its warning for the future is however clear: 'Eine ästhetische Weltanschauung ist schlechterdings unfähig, den Problemen gerecht zu werden, deren Lösung uns obliegt.'²⁹ Whether Adrian Leverkühn was a scapegoat or a saviour only time will tell.

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²⁷ *ibid.*, p. 32.

²⁸ Holthusen, *Welt ohne Transzendenz*, p. 68.

²⁹ Nietzsche *i.L.u.Erf.*, p. 50.

BALZAC'S MONOGRAPHIE DE LA PRESSE PARISIENNE

Reviewing her late brother's unhappy relations with the journalistic fraternity, Mme Laure Surville wrote:

Il ne voulait donc ni protestations ni récriminations. Une seule fois il manqua à la loi qu'il s'était faite de n'opposer que le silence à ses détracteurs, en écrivant la *Monographie de la presse*; cette œuvre . . . lui fut arrachée par ses amis; ils accusaient mon frère de faiblesse, presque de couardise; il montra la griffe, mais regretta depuis cette œuvre qui faisait tort, selon lui, à son caractère si ce n'était à son talent.¹

It is true that Balzac did not allow himself to be drawn into sordid exchanges of personalities; but he did denounce the turpitude of the press on numerous occasions before the publication of his *Monographie*, and more than one journalist took these attacks as personal affronts.

As early as 13 November 1830, in an article in *La Mode*, he declared war on journalism; and a month later (18 December), in the same periodical, he opened fire again, roundly condemning *Le Corsaire*, 'cette petite feuille ordurière et grasse et qui pue la chandelle', and through it the satirical press in general, which he, as a Legitimist, reproached with having, by its continual gibes, destroyed the prestige of the Bourbons and undermined the authority of the rightful monarchy. He was moreover indignant at the way exponents of this strategy had ridden to eminence and power on the wave of the July Revolution; for on the accession of Louis-Philippe many, if not most, of the journalists who had sniped at the previous regime were rewarded with decorations, pensions, positions in the administration, even the highest public offices. 'Le journalisme de la Restauration', says Hippolyte Castille, 'eut surtout cela de remarquable qu'il fit la fortune politique de la plupart de ceux qui le pratiquèrent. On attribue à M. Villemain un mot souvent cité: "La littérature mène à tout, à la condition d'en sortir." C'est au journalisme surtout qu'on pourrait appliquer cette parole. MM. Thiers, Mignet, Rémusat et tant d'autres sont arrivés à tout, parce qu'ils se sont hâtés de sortir du journalisme dès que la Révolution de Juillet leur permit d'entrer au pouvoir.'²

In his *Revue parisienne* (July-September, 1840) Balzac fired

¹ 'Balzac, sa vie et ses œuvres, d'après, sa correspondance', III, *Revue de Paris*, 1 June 1856.

² *Les Journaux et les journalistes sous l'Empire et sous la Restauration* (Paris, Sartorius, 1858), p. 48.

several broadsides at the press. The second issue in particular contains quite a violent outburst against journalists and their methods, their intolerance of opinions and convictions that differ from their own, their indiscreet revelations that jeopardize the nation's security.

The *Revue parisienne* gave up the ghost after the third number; and no doubt Balzac's own failure as a journalist was another reason for his animosity toward the press. One of his most dearly cherished ambitions was to be the proprietor-manager-editor of a newspaper or review, to have a periodical publication of his own in whose columns he would enjoy complete freedom of expression and be able to defend himself against his numerous enemies. To this end he founded in 1830 the weekly *Feuilleton des Journaux politiques*; later, in association with Gavarni, he published the *Journal des Gens du Monde*; the *Chronique de Paris* then made its appearance, but lasted only nine months; and finally there was the hapless *Revue parisienne*. Balzac had tried to be a journalist and had failed: quite naturally he felt chagrined.

The Paris press, no respecter of persons, had not spared Balzac, who consequently bore it a grudge. Moreover the memory of the coalition that his brother-writers had formed against him on the occasion of his lawsuit with the *Revue de Paris* long rankled in his heart. He avenged himself on the press by denouncing its amorality and drawing damning pictures of its representatives in his *Comédie humaine*. There is, however, no reason to doubt his sincerity: having himself written a great deal for newspapers and reviews, having seen the world of journalism at close quarters ever since 1822, he was convinced that he knew what he was writing about, and that he was telling the whole truth and nothing but the truth. 'Balzac n'a jamais été plus grand peintre que dans ses portraits de journalistes', writes André Bellessort, 'non pas même dans ceux de ses avarés, de ses hommes d'affaires et de ses employés.'³ Not only did he give journalists a leading role in several episodes in the *Comédie humaine*,⁴ but he devoted the whole of the second part of *Illusions perdues*, *Un grand homme de province à Paris* (June 1839), to a study of the practices and morals—or rather lack of

³ Balzac et son œuvre (3rd ed., Paris, Perrin, 1924), pp. 208-9.

⁴ Portraits of journalists are to be found in *La Peau de chagrin*, *César Birotteau*, *Une fille d'Eve*, *La Maison Nucingen*, *Béatrix*, *Splendeurs et misères des courtisanes*, *Les Employés*, *Les Comédiens sans le savoir*, *La Muse du département*, *Les Paysans*.

morals – of journalism.⁵ The press, he declares in the foreword to this book, is a ‘cancer qui dévorera peut-être le pays’. He continues: ‘Il ne s’agit ici que de l’influence dépravante du journal sur des âmes jeunes et poétiques, des difficultés qui attendent les débutants et qui gisent plus dans l’ordre moral que dans l’ordre matériel’;⁶ and he concludes: ‘Quelle belle peinture serait celle de ces hommes médiocres, engraisés de trahisons, nourris de cervelles bues, ingrats envers leurs invalides, répondant aux souffrances qu’ils ont faites par d’affreuses railleries, à l’abri de toute attaque derrière leurs remparts de boue. . . .’ What withering disdain in the remarks of Michel Chrestien, in whose eyes the journalist is ‘lâche et infâme par système’, and the profession of journalist, ‘le parti pris de trafiquer de son âme, de son esprit et de sa pensée’; in this admission by Lousteau: ‘Les propriétaires de journaux sont des entrepreneurs, nous sommes des maçons. Ainsi plus un homme est médiocre, plus promptement arrive-t-il’; in the words of Blondet: ‘En France, l’esprit est plus fort que tout, et les journaux ont, de plus que l’esprit de tous les hommes spirituels, l’hypocrisie de Tartuffe’; finally in those of Claude Vignon:

Le Journal . . . s’est fait commerce; et comme tous les commerces, il est sans foi ni loi. Tout journal est . . . une boutique où l’on vend au public des paroles de la couleur dont il les veut . . . Un journal n’est plus fait pour éclairer, mais pour flatter les opinions. Ainsi tous les journaux seront, dans un temps donné, lâches, hypocrites, infâmes, menteurs, assassins, ils tueront les idées, les systèmes, les hommes, et fleuriront par cela même; ils auront le bénéfice de tous les êtres collectifs, le mal sera fait sans que personne en soit coupable.⁷

⁵ As MM. Bachelin and Dumesnil observe (‘Journalistes et journaux au temps de la “Comédie humaine”’, *Mercure de France*, 1 June 1922), ‘La presse tient dans son œuvre une place considérable, et qui est exactement celle qui lui revient au début du XIX^e siècle.’

⁶ Cf. his vivid description in *Splendeurs et misères des courtisanes* of the vitiating effects of journalism on those who practise it: ‘On s’habitue à voir faire le mal, à le laisser passer; on commence par l’approuver, on finit par le commettre. A la longue, l’âme, sans cesse maculée par de honteuses et continues transactions, s’amoindrit, le ressort des pensées nobles se rouille, les gonds de la banalité s’usent et tournent d’eux-mêmes. Les Alcestes deviennent des Philintes, les caractères se détrempent, les talents s’abâtardissent, la foi dans les belles œuvres s’envole. Tel qui voulait s’enorgueillir de ses pages se dépense en de tristes articles que sa conscience lui signale tôt ou tard comme autant de mauvaises actions.’

⁷ Cf. the concluding lines of Act I of *L’Ecole des journalistes* (October 1839) by Mme de Girardin, the self-styled ‘pupil’ of Balzac:

Voilà donc ce pouvoir que l’on nomme journal!

Royauté collective, absolu tribunal:

Un jugeur sans talent, fabricant d’ironie,

As was to be expected, this book brought a storm about the author's ears. On 25 July 1839, Granier de Cassagnac, one of Balzac's few journalist friends, wrote in *La Presse*: 'Il paraît qu'il y a de fort vives colères émues autour du livre de M. de Balzac. Cela devait être. Les journalistes, ces grands écorcheurs de profession, tiennent plus que d'autres à l'intégrité de leur peau.' And shortly afterwards Balzac himself notes with satisfaction that 'les hurlements de la presse durent encore'.⁸

Between three and four years later, in his *Monographie de la presse parisienne*, Balzac summarized and set out systematically the conclusions that emerged from his portrayal of journalistic circles in *La Comédie humaine*. The *Monographie* was his contribution to a collective work entitled *La Grande Ville, nouveau tableau de Paris, comique, critique et philosophique*, published in fifty-two instalments by Marescq in 1842-3. The four score pages making up the *Monographie* were printed separately in 1842, before being issued as part of the second volume of *La Grande Ville*.

In this work Balzac begins by dividing 'l'ordre gendelettre' into two categories, the publicists and the critics, these being then subdivided into a multiplicity of species and varieties. After deploring the low standard of contemporary political journalism ('De généralisateur sublime, de prophète, de pasteur des idées qu'il était jadis, le Publiciste est maintenant un homme occupé des bâtons flottants de l'Actualité'), Balzac deals in turn with each of its several branches. First to come under the lash is the 'directeur-rédacteur-en-chef-propriétaire-gérant', who in his make-up 'combines the qualities of landlord, grocer and speculator', and who 'being fit for nothing, thinks he is fit for everything'. Next it is the turn of the leader-writers, who are 'médiocres de naissance, et se rendent encore plus médiocres à ce travail fastidieux, stérile, dans lequel ils sont bien moins occupés à exprimer leurs pensées qu'à formuler celles de la majorité de leurs abonnés'. Then there are the 'camarillistes', the Parliamentary reporters, who, if they are to keep their jobs, must see

Qui tue avec des mots un homme de génie;
Un viveur enragé—s'engraissant de la mort;
Un fou—qui met en feu l'Europe et qui s'endort;
Un poète manqué, grande âme paresseuse,
Qui se fait, sans amour, gérant d'une danseuse—
Tous gens sans bonne foi, l'un par l'autre trahis!
Ce sont là tes meneurs, ô mon pauvre pays!

⁸ Quoted by Joachim Merlant in 'Balzac en guerre avec les journalistes', I, *Revue de Paris*, 1 August 1914.

to it that their accounts of proceedings in the *Chambre des Députés* conform to the political allegiance of the newspaper that employs them; and then there are the '*hommes politiques*', each having a newspaper at his command and using it as a means of furthering his personal ambitions. All members of the corps of publicists come in for their share of censure: pamphleteers, popularizers ('*rienologues*'⁹), '*publicistes à porte-feuille*', that is, those who have no system, but simply a determination to get into the Cabinet, and who, by their speeches, their drawing-room pronouncements and their lectures at the Sorbonne or at the Collège de France, succeed in creating the impression that they are such stuff as statesmen are made on; '*écrivains monobibles*', who rely on the stupidity and credulousness of the bourgeoisie to ensure them a reputation and a political future on the strength of 'un livre à la fois moral, gouvernemental, philosophique, philanthropique, d'où l'on puisse extraire, à tout propos et à propos de tout, quelques pages plus ou moins sonores'; advocates of a system of social reforms (Saint-Simonians, Fourierists and the like), in whom 'il faut reconnaître une grande énergie, des aperçus ingénieux et souvent justes dans leurs observations sur le malaise social; mais tout en est déparé par une phraséologie ingrate, aride, fatigante'. Nor does Balzac fail to mention the '*Maître Jacques*', the handyman who works with scissors and paste in newspaper offices; and finally he bewails the disappearance of serious, well-documented and authoritative leading articles. He is sickened by the spectacle of the press being used—so it seems to him—as an instrument of trickery, conspiracy and blackmail from motives of personal gain and advancement. Balzac's war on the press was essentially a war upon the régime, upon an order in which, to quote the *Monographie* again, 'l'intérêt personnel domine l'intérêt général'.

The structure of the second part of Balzac's diatribe is similar to that of the first. After formulating a general condemnation of literary critics ('Les caractères généraux du critique sont essentiellement remarquables, en ce sens qu'il existe dans tout critique un auteur impuissant. Ne pouvant rien créer, le critique se fait le muet du sérail. . .'), and lamenting what he regards as an almost total eclipse of serious criticism ('Le critique aujourd'hui ne sert plus qu'à une seule chose: à

⁹ 'Le vulgarisateur étend une idée d'idée dans un baquet de lieux communs et débite mécaniquement cette effroyable mixtion philosophico-littéraire dans des feuilles continues.'

faire vivre le critique'), he goes on to stigmatize the various unworthy types he has distinguished in this branch of the journalistic profession. These are: the '*négateur*' ('Il nie tout ce qui est, et vante ce qui n'est pas'), the '*farceur*', or slipshod humbug, the '*thuriféraire*', or praise-monger, the '*exécuteur des hautes œuvres*', or *érein*teur as he is commonly known, the '*euphuiste*', who delivers his pronouncements in a high-flown, woolly style, and the *feuilletoniste* (with special reference to the reviewers of current dramatic and musical productions). Finally, Balzac hits out at the *petits journalistes*, the lesser lights of the world of journalism, most of whom are contributors to the twenty or so scandal-sheets in existence in Paris. 'Ces braves garçons', he writes, 'croient que l'esprit dispense de la pensée, ils prennent l'envie pour une muse.' Among them, he distinguishes five varieties. First, the '*bravo*': 'Le Bravo veut se faire un nom, ou, du moins, il l'espère, en s'attaquant aux grandes réputations; il est connu pour *empoigner* les livres, pour les *échiner*; il est assommeur-juré.' Next, the '*blagueur*', who turns everybody and everything into a subject for mockery. Then there is the '*pêcheur à la ligne*': 'Chaque jour, il use les qualités les plus précieuses de l'esprit à sculpter une plaisanterie en une ou deux colonnes.' The other two varieties are the '*anonyme*' and the '*guérillero*', Alphonse Karr, with his *Guêpes*, being the prototype of the latter.

In conclusion, Balzac reiterates the charge he had levelled at the press in his *Revue parisienne*, taking it to task for its wanton betrayals of state secrets; and he proclaims its demoralizing influence on French society:

Aujourd'hui, cette maladie chronique de la France s'est étendue à tout. Elle a soumis à ses lois la justice, elle a frappé de terreur le législateur, qui, peut-être, eût regardé la publicité comme un supplice plus cruel que toutes ses inventions pénales. Elle a soumis la royauté, l'industrie privée, la famille, les intérêts; enfin, elle a fait de la France entière une petite ville où l'on s'inquiète plus du qu'en-dira-t-on que des intérêts du pays.

The *Monographie de la presse* was undoubtedly to a large extent a means of settling accounts with all those individuals against whom Balzac had a grievance, directors of reviews, newspaper owners and editors, journalists and critics, François Buloz, William Duckett, Emile de Girardin, Capo de Feuillide, Amédée Pichot, Lautour-Mézeray, Raymond Brucker, Paul Lacroix, Théodore Muret, Philarète Chasles. Most of the por-

traits are to be regarded as composite creations, not referring exclusively to any one person. In a few cases, however, the allusion is clearly to particular individuals, e.g., Alphonse Karr (the 'guérillero'), Hippolyte Lucas (the 'thuriféraire'), Gustave Planche (the 'exécuteur des hautes œuvres'), Sainte-Beuve (the 'euphuiste', passing judgment on Abel Mutin, i.e., Alfred de Musset). This is one of no less than three attacks on Sainte-Beuve in the *Monographie de la presse*, the other two taking the form respectively of a review by the 'exécuteur des hautes œuvres' of his novel *Volupté*, here called *Jouissance*, and a caricatural biography of Joseph Delorme, the name under which Sainte-Beuve had depicted and expressed himself in *La Vie, les poésies et les pensées de Joseph Delorme* (1829). Already in 1840 Balzac had twice made violent attacks on this particular enemy of his; he had slated *Port-Royal* in his *Revue parisienne*, and he had parodied and ridiculed Sainte-Beuve in *Un prince de la bohème*.

The *Monographie de la presse* was well received by the French public, as is attested by a letter from Alfred Tattet to Felix Arvers,¹⁰ and was favourably reviewed in England by Thackeray.¹¹ That the work was not acclaimed in the Paris press, goes without saying. After the publication of *Un grand homme de province à Paris*, Jules Janin had come forward as the champion of journalism and bitterly attacked Balzac in a long article in the *Revue de Paris* (July 1839). Now, recognizing himself in the portrait of the *feuilletoniste*, he took up the gauntlet again and composed a ferocious diatribe against Balzac which appeared in the *Journal des Débats* on 20 February 1843. After a lengthy preamble, he writes, 'Quant à cette *Monographie de la presse parisienne*, on me l'a remise tantôt avec cette lettre: "Tu dors, Brutus!" Et j'avoue qu'en vérité mieux eût valu dormir que de perdre une heure à cette insipide et nauséabonde lecture.' Then, having listed the names of those who he considers have been maligned by Balzac in this work, he goes on:

Peut-être faisons-nous là trop de bruit de quelques pages sans valeur et sans portée; peut-être eût-il mieux valu laisser en repos ce digne homme chagrin et mécontent, à qui toute justice a été faite . . . Mais, à la fin, cela vous lasse de voir traiter à tout propos, dans les romans, dans les préfaces, dans

¹⁰ Quoted by Léon Séché in *La Jeunesse dorée sous Louis-Philippe* (Paris, Mercure de France, 1900), p. 215.

¹¹ 'Balzac on the Newspapers of Paris,' *Foreign Quarterly Review*, April 1843.

les notes d'un livre, dans les physiologies, dans les monographies, dans les dédicaces du même auteur, avec tant de mépris et de sans-gêne, une noble profession, difficile et périlleuse entre toutes, par laquelle ont passé tous les hommes de quelque valeur.

Janin accuses Balzac of ingratitude towards the press, and then maliciously recalls his failure as a journalist, concluding, 'Et maintenant ce journaliste, le plus impuissant, le plus maladroît et le plus dénigrant des journalistes, viendrait, de gaîte de cœur, accabler de ses injures ceux dont il n'a pas pu se maintenir le confrère.'

As usual, Balzac remained silent in the face of this torrent of invective. On 26 September 1843, when he was away in Saint Petersburg, his play *Paméla Giraud* had its première at the Théâtre de la Gaîté. With the single exception of Théophile Gautier,¹² writing in *La Presse*, all the Paris drama critics, welcoming this opportunity for revenge, pulled the play to pieces. Balzac made no protest, doubtless considering that after the *Monographie de la presse* there was nothing more to be said.

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¹² Of Gautier, 'un de nos poètes les plus distingués', Balzac had written in the *Monographie de la presse*: 'La trompette de la Presse joue une musique variée, éclatante et poétique: on devine facilement que celui qui l'embouche y souffle sans efforts, et réserve ses meilleurs airs, ses fanfares étincelantes, pour un autre public que le gros public.'

SOME ENGLISH INFLUENCES ON THE WORK OF JUSTUS MÖSER (1720-94)

Justus Möser has won renown as a precursor of other writers; as a debtor to others he has scarcely ever been considered. While his work has been accepted as a fruitful source of ideas for the *Sturm und Drang* writers, its own origins have received slight attention. Emphasis has always been placed on the local character of this Osnabrück writer's work, a method of approach which permits of no other conclusion but that he was not reliant upon other authors for his inspiration. In reality, Möser read widely in French and English literature. Those English authors to whom he was particularly indebted were Addison, Steele, Pope and Shaftesbury.¹

¹ There is only one study devoted to the influence of any of these writers upon Möser: A. Weidemann, *Geistesgeschichtlicher Querschnitt durch Justus*

Möser's own attitude in no way facilitates any inquiry into the origins of his thought. He often misquoted or misinterpreted an author's words and he carefully did not divulge his indebtedness to those who influenced him most profoundly. It was in fact his confessed policy not to betray his sources.²

The impact of literary influences on his work cannot be assessed without taking his background into account. He was born into the upper middle class of the bishopric of Osnabrück where he spent most of his life. Osnabrück had the honour of having the Peace of Westphalia signed in its *Rathaus* but it also had the misfortune to be bound by the treaty to alternate rule under a Catholic and Protestant bishop. One of the Protestant bishops, Ernst August Duke of Hanover, was the father of the English King George I, and this link with the throne served to bind Osnabrück very closely to England. But at home and at school Möser was taught French and he moved in a society where French was spoken and where conduct was based as closely as local conditions permitted upon the French court.

Part of his academic career was spent in the study of law at Göttingen University of which George II was patron. As a member of the *Deutsche Gesellschaft* there, Möser wrote odes about the English King. As one would expect in Göttingen, the odes of this society were in tone hostile to France and friendly towards England. In one of Möser's compositions George is heralded as a German hero:

So Herr! verführst auch Du, wenn stolze Feinde rasen,
Wenn Unrecht, List und Tod nach Deinen Freunden grasen,
Wenn dort der Feinde Blitz in rothen Flammen zischt,
Und ungestraft die Welt mit Glut und Tod vermischt.

Mösers *Erziehungsideen*, orientiert an der Philosophie John Lockes und A. [sic] Shaftesburys (Ochsenfurt a.M., Fritz & Rappert, 1932). This is of limited value since it assumes that each idea Möser shared with Shaftesbury and Locke was directly derived from them. Many of the ideas of these English thinkers were, of course, part of the general intellectual equipment of the 18th century.

No really complete edition of Möser's works exists. His early weeklies were not published in full until 1944. They form vol. i of *Justus Möser's sämtliche Werke*: historisch-kritische Ausgabe in 14 Bänden (Oldenburg, Berlin, Gerhard Stalling Verlag, 1943-5). Only vols. i, iv and v have so far appeared. It is here referred to as H.K.A.

A complete edition of Möser's letters appeared first in 1939: *Justus Möser's Briefe*, herausgegeben von Ernst Beins und Werner Pleister (Osnabrück, Schöningh.).

Previously Möser's works were available only in *Justus Möser's sämtliche Werke*. Neu geordnet und aus dem Nachlass desselben gemehrt durch B. R. Abeken, 10 Theile (Berlin, Nicolai, 1843-58). The volumes in this edition are referred to here by Roman numerals alone.

² H.K.A. i. 9.

Du zeigst nur Deine Macht – das Wetter ist zertheilet,
Der Deutschen Heiland kommt . . .³

In 1744 Möser assumed official duties in Osnabrück where his literary interests were fostered by Freiherr von dem Busche-Hünnefeld (who had travelled in England and France), by Freiherr von Bar, the poet Gleim and later the historian Abbt and the publisher Nicolai. As Secretary to the Nobility, Möser played an important part in Osnabrück affairs. In 1747 he became *Advocatus Patriae*, conducting the legal business of the bishopric. In 1756 he became *Syndicus* of the Nobility and assumed a load of duties which was very heavy during the Seven Years War. The little bishopric suffered severely on account of the *successio alternativa* of the bishops; the town was Protestant by sympathy, but the reigning bishop, Clemens August, was not. Invaded by both French and Allies, the bishopric was treated mercifully by neither – troops were quartered there and contributions exacted. Möser was asked by the *Stände* to visit Allied and French army headquarters where through his diplomatic skill he did obtain some reduction in the levies.⁴

During his journeys, he evolved a positive policy for Osnabrück; he recognized that its only hope for the future lay in gaining the protection of England and in severing ties with France. He himself did all he could to secure this end. In November 1763 he travelled to London, his immediate aim being to ensure the payment of debts owed by the English army to Osnabrück. The Catholic Clemens August had died in 1761, and Möser wished now to arrange for the election of George III's infant son Frederick as bishop of Osnabrück and to see that a regency government under George III control the bishopric until the Prince's majority. With England's powerful support, the *successio alternativa* was to be abolished once and for all.

Möser's visit to England did not have the tremendous importance for his development that has been generally attributed to it. His stay in London lasted for only five months, from November 1763 until April 1764, and there is no evidence to show that he travelled outside the capital. His duties were tiring; he complained that he had no time, 'diese ungeheure Stadt kennen zu

³ x. 123. 'Die gerechten und siegreichen Waffen Seiner Königlichen Majestät in Grossbritannien und Churfürstlichen Durchlaucht zu Hannover, Georg des Andern.'

⁴ A full account of Möser's role during the hostilities is given in A. Frankenfeld, *Justus Möser als Staatsmann im Siebenjährigen Kriege und am englischen Hofe*. Inaug.Diss. Göttingen, 1922.

lernen'.⁵ What spare moments he had he devoted chiefly to his already begun *Osnabrückische Geschichte* and to some minor dramatic work. But his visit was important in so far as it gave him a truer impression of England than he had gained from his previous reading and from public opinion in Hanover and Osnabrück; it shattered the illusions he had cherished about English liberty, government and letters.

Liberty in England Möser found to be but a pale shadow of that English liberty so admired in Göttingen and Osnabrück and so highly praised by the French and English authors he had read. He wrote for Abbt a small essay on liberty which begins:

Die Engländer sind Slaven der Freiheit; sie bezahlen solche zu theuer mit einem grossen Theile ihrer Ruhe und ihres Vermögens.⁶

Möser had too many dealings with government circles not to be aware of their corruption and he complained in a letter of 12 May 1764 to Abbt of the *esprit de commerce* prevailing in all walks of life.

Möser's disappointment at the London stage was the theme of his letter to Gleim of 15 December 1763. He considered that the acting in tragedy and comedy alike left much to be desired. 'Der Cothurn und der Sockus laufen beständig durcheinander,'⁷ he complains. He reported too the tremendous popularity of the *Beggar's Opera*.

But if Möser's first reaction to England was one of disappointment, his interest in the country was not dampened by his visit, as is shown by the wealth of details about English character and habits, letters and politics, trade and law in his later work. While playing a prominent part in the Osnabrück regency government under George III, Möser recommended to the people of the bishopric in his *Patriotische Phantasien* English manners, dress, and legal and commercial practice. In some respects his attitude to England was contradictory—while expressing a profound admiration for the efficiency of English trade,⁸ he objected, understandably, to England's dumping of unwanted goods in Osnabrück.⁹ Yet he consistently admired English character with its common sense and emotional energy which formed in his eyes such a contrast to German pedantry. He makes such statements as:

⁵ *Briefe*, p. 131.

⁶ *ibid.*, p. 147.

⁷ *ibid.*, p. 133.

⁸ H.K.A. iv. 16, 18, 19-20, 21, 25, 27, 31, 34, 35.

⁹ *ibid.*, 22-3, 25, 194ff.

Indem der Deutsche schreiben muss, um Professor zu werden, geht der Engländer zur See, um Erfahrungen zu sammeln.¹⁰

Möser's knowledge of English ways was only in part derived from his stay in London. For much of his information he drew upon his reading of French and English writers. It is remarkable that he did not learn the English language until the 1760's when he was over forty. He could read, write and speak French from his early years, but for his knowledge of English writers before about 1760 he had to depend on French or German translations, some of them very unreliable. Möser did employ several English words in his early weeklies, but all these could have been derived from French authors or translators. For example, one phrase he used, 'I never saw . . .',¹¹ was copied from Saint-Evremond's *Scène de bassette*, and he certainly relied upon translations for his early acquaintance with Pope. The writer who did so much to promote in Germany a knowledge of English was himself for a long time dependent upon French translations and interpretations of English literature.

This lack of English did not prevent the bold young Möser from making observations about the language. An observation in his *Wochenblatt* 32 of 1746 foreshadows what he wrote later when he had really mastered the language:

Die Engländer haben sich zu Anfang dieses Jahrhunderts Meister der Welt und des guten Geschmacks gesehen. Nimmer mittelmässig, immer hoch und niedrig, sind ihre guten Schriften unverbesserlich, so wie ihre schlimmen nicht zu verschlimmern gewesen. Ihre Ausdrücke waren aus dem innern Wesen der Dinge entlehnet, und der Schwung ihrer Rede war so majestätisch, als die Gedanken edel und erhaben waren. In den Folgezeiten aber haben sie ihre Stärke übertrieben.¹²

But by 1781 Möser found nothing to criticize in English. By then Herder and his followers had aroused an interest in language. By then too Möser, learning from Montesquieu that institutions should be products of their native environment, had drawn the conclusion that language and literature should also be products of their native soil. He writes in *Ueber die deutsche Sprache und Literatur*:

Die englische Sprache ist die einzige, die, wie die Nation, Nichts scheuet, sondern Alles angreift, und gewiss nicht aus einer gar zu strengen Keuschheit schwindsüchtig geworden ist; sie ist aber auch die einzige Volkssprache, welche in Europa geschrieben wird, und ein auf den Thron erhobener Provinzial-

¹⁰ ix. 150.

¹¹ H.K.A. i. 81.

¹² *ibid.*, p. 176.

dialekt, der auf seinem eignen fetten Boden steht, nicht aber, wie unsre Buchsprachen, auf der Tenne dörret.¹³

Möser's early weeklies, his *Wochenblatt* (1746) and *Zuschauerin* (1747), were closely modelled upon the *Spectator* and the *Tatler*, both of which were accessible in translation.¹⁴ Like these English papers, Möser's weeklies consisted of a series of essays, and he introduced variations on the essay theme—conversations, letters and serials consisting of several essays—just as the Englishmen had done.

He referred to several characters figuring in the English weeklies, such as Sir Isaac Bickerstaff,¹⁵ an English knight and a London merchant,¹⁶ and he feigned a knowledge of London by mentioning the well-known Drury Lane and Grub Street.¹⁷ In his moral speculations he stressed, as they had done, the importance of the emotions and the limitations of reason. The weaknesses he censured were much the same as those to which Steele and Addison had drawn attention, but his censure was not as severe as theirs, doubtless because his main purpose was to sell his paper rather than to improve society. While the English essayists wished to promote virtue, Möser emphasized the importance of social grace; he was still very much the product of a society eager to reflect the charm of a French *salon*.

Following the English papers, he addressed his remarks to women in particular. The *Wochenblatt*, like the *Tatler*, claimed to be written in part by the editor's sister, a stratagem that was meant to win over feminine readers. The *Tatler* 10 states:

My brother Isaac, having a sudden occasion to go out of town, ordered me to take upon me the dispatch of the next advices from home, with liberty to speak in my own way; not doubting the allowances which would be given to a writer of my sex. You may be sure I undertook it with much satisfaction; and I confess, I am not a little pleased with the opportunity of running over all the papers in his closet.

Möser's sister must have read these words of Miss Jenny Distaff's, for she remarks:

Mein Bruder ist einmal verreiset und wider seine Gewohnheit über die gesetzte Zeit ausgeblieben. Der Verleger hat schon zweimal wegen des Wochenblattes hergesandt. Allein ich finde auf seiner Stuben nichts als alte Akten. . . . Ich verstehe mich zwar, als ein Frauenzimmer, auf solche Sachen nicht.¹⁸

¹³ ix. 153.

¹⁴ See C. A. Rochedieu, *Bibliography of French Translations of English Works* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1949).

¹⁵ H.K.A. i. 296-7. ¹⁶ *ibid.*, 298ff.

¹⁷ *ibid.*, 295-6.

¹⁸ *ibid.*, 48.

Mein Bruder ist nach Pyrmont verreiset, und weil er mir es halb und halb, jedoch ganz heimlich, merken lassen, dass ihm meine Arbeit nicht missfallen: so hat er es endlich, nachdem ich ihn recht sehr gebeten, geschehen lassen, dass ich in seiner Abwesenheit das Wochenblatt besorgen darf.¹⁹

The young Möser was more interested in making his feminine readers popular in society than in giving them that moral, domestic and literary education that the English papers proposed. This is evident when one compares Möser's Emilie and the *Spectator's* Emilia.²⁰ Both writers painted the literary portrait of a lady whom they considered to be the paragon of all feminine virtues. Whereas the *Spectator* emphasized the lady's moral integrity, Möser was chiefly concerned with her charming manners.

Only in his *Patriotische Phantasien* did Möser consistently admire women who devoted their time to the household, but even in the *Wochenblatt* there is one series of essays in which domestic life is depicted as more pleasant than life in high society. These essays tell the story of an *Amtschreiberin* who undergoes a remarkable metamorphosis—a social butterfly at first, she turns rapidly into an excellent country housewife.²¹ Möser was here beginning to honour the virtues praised by the English weeklies.

Like Addison, Möser devoted some space to aesthetic problems. One matter with which they were both concerned was the relationship between nature and art. In his 'Essay on the Pleasures of the Imagination' in *Spectator* 414, Addison recognizes the immensity of nature compared with the limitations of art:

If we consider the works of nature and art, as they are qualified to entertain the imagination, we shall find the last very defective, in comparison of the former; for though they may sometimes appear as beautiful or strange, they can have nothing in them of that vastness and immensity, which afford so great an entertainment to the mind of the beholder.

The art of which Addison spoke was that created according to the neo-classical canons of taste and his essay was one of the first pieces of writing which criticized these doctrines. But it was not the very first, for Pope had already made similar comments in the *Essay on Criticism*. Pope contended that better

¹⁹ *ibid.*, 126.

²⁰ *ibid.*, 303-9. *Spectator* no. 302.

²¹ H.K.A. i. *Wochenblatt*, 7, 11, 13, 16.

work could sometimes be produced by disobeying the rules of art rather than by obeying them, and Addison, following him, observes:

[Critics] are often led into those numerous absurdities in which they daily instruct the people, by not considering that, first, there is sometimes a greater judgment shown in deviating from the rules of art than in adhering to them; and, secondly, that there is more beauty in the works of a great genius, who is ignorant of all the rules of art, than in the works of a little genius, who not only knows but scrupulously observes them.²²

As will be seen later, Möser expressed thoughts very similar to these. Moreover he, like Addison, was concerned with the problem of good taste. What was taste and how did one acquire it? they asked. Addison advises a man who wishes to know whether he has the faculty of good taste to read over the

works of antiquity which have stood the test of so many different ages and countries; or those works among the moderns, which have the sanction of the politer part of our contemporaries. If upon the perusal of such writings he does not find himself delighted in an extraordinary manner, . . . he ought to conclude . . . that he himself wants the faculty of discovery.²³

Möser accordingly comments:

Wahrscheinlich ist es, dass dasjenige, was vielen und lange gefallen, der Natur gemäss und schön sei. Diesen Vorzug haben verschiedene unter den Alten und Neuern: wer also an solchen Mustern *aus eigner und lebhafter Empfindung* Geschmack findet, der kann mit Wahrscheinlichkeit schliessen, dass seine Empfindung glücklich und gut sei.²⁴

Although they could give this advice, both writers had also to admit that such good taste was extremely difficult to acquire.²⁵

Möser was thus introduced by the 1740's to the great aesthetic problems confronting the eighteenth century critics. Without this introduction to such problems, he would have been unable in later life to make his great contribution to German criticism *Ueber die deutsche Sprache und Literatur*. Without his apprenticeship under Steele and Addison, he would have been unable to adapt the moral weekly to the needs of Osnabrück society. His *Patriotische Phantasien*, the first of which appeared in 1766 in the *Osnabrücker Intelligenz-Blatt*, shared the seriousness of purpose of their English predecessors.

Pope's contribution to Möser's thought was equally important

²² *Spectator* 592.

²⁴ H.K.A. i. 341.

²³ *Spectator* 409.

²⁵ *Spectator* 409. H.K.A. i. 341.

His *Rape of the Lock* and *Essay on Criticism* left their mark on the *Wochenblatt* and *Zuschauerin*. The *Wochenblatt* 45 asserted that the *Rape of the Lock* was superior to the countless poems modelled upon it. Declaring that imitation was inferior to originality, Möser composed several lines of a poem, *Der Haartour-Raub*, based on Pope's mock epic, and well they illustrate his point.²⁶ This criticism of the imitators of Pope is remarkable firstly because it is the only passage where the young Möser openly admitted his borrowings and secondly because it comes from the pen of one who himself took considerable slices from other works for his writing.

The *Essay on Criticism*, together with Addison's essays, introduced Möser to pre-romantic doctrines before these had become widespread in Germany. Although in general Pope equated nature with the 'rules' set up for the composition and judgment of art, he on one occasion observed that some beauties in art did not conform to the rules of the ancients as outlined by the French critics, and that some works of art which defied the rules, were more beautiful than those adhering to them. He explains:

Some beauties yet no Precepts can declare,
For there's a happiness as well as care.
Music resembles Poetry, in each
Are nameless graces which no methods teach
And which a master hand alone can reach.²⁷

He compares them with the wilder beauties of nature:

In prospects thus, some objects please our eyes,
Which out of nature's common order rise,
The shapeless rock, or hanging precipice,
Great Wits sometimes may gloriously offend,
And rise to faults true critics dare not mend.

I know there are, to whose presumptuous thoughts
These freer beauties, ev'n in them, seem faults.
Some figures monstrous, and mis-shap'd appear,
Consider'd singly, or beheld too near,
Which, but proportion'd to their light, or place,
Due distance reconciles to form and grace.²⁸

The young Möser made use of this idea. In comparing the rules of nature with those of art, he emphasizes that nature's beauties must be seen in the correct perspective:

Ein abscheulicher Fels, ein Kolossus, eine fürchterliche Grotte,

²⁶ H.K.A. i. 255 ff.

²⁷ *Essay on Criticism*, i. 141 ff.

²⁸ *Essay on Criticism*, i. 156-60, 169-74.

ein himmelstürmender Berg scheinen oftmals dem kleinen Künstler unförmliche Missgeburten der Natur zu sein. Sobald er aber, durch die Schranken seiner Begriffe nicht gehindert, alle diese Dinge in ihrem wahren Gesichtspunkt betrachten kann: so erstaunet er über die wundervoll schön Verhältniß aller dieser Dinge. Er findet, dass der unförmliche Kolossus in einer seinem Auge gemässen Entfernung die *Stärke* mit der *Zierde* nach dem Urteil Popens und aller guten Empfindungen vereinige und dass dasjenige, was anfangs ein glücklicher Eigensinn der Natur geschienen, die unerschöpfliche Tiefe ihrer Regeln sei.²⁹

Another revolutionary doctrine expounded by Pope was that a work of art should be judged as a unit; it should not be criticized for occasional failures to obey the 'rules' if it were beautiful as a whole. Möser drew upon this doctrine also and declared that a poet could dispense with petty well-known rules in the interests of his art.³⁰

However, while basing his observations about nature and art on those of Pope, Möser remained convinced of the necessity of some rules to govern art, and he suggested that a work should be judged by the eternal intangible rules of 'nature'. Pope's appreciations of Shakespeare and Homer, less dependent than the *Essay on Criticism* on traditional canons of taste, were known to Möser later and they contributed to the fashioning of his attitude in *Ueber die deutsche Sprache und Literatur* by indicating that an original work reflected a 'nature' consisting of all the infinite diversity of the universe. Möser himself arrived at no clear definition of 'nature' until he had read Rousseau, Montesquieu and Winckelmann. Pope, with the support of Addison, was responsible for making Möser first aware of the problem of the relationship between nature and art.

Pope's ideas on moral subjects were not so novel to Möser. The *Essay on Man* (1733) confirmed his belief that the emotions were responsible for human action. He was later to view favourably Pope's optimism, his view that 'whatever is, is right', as a faith that comforted men in times of distress.³¹ But Pope's contribution to Möser's literary criticism was far greater than any influence he exerted in matters of religion or psychology. In these fields Möser shared with him only those concepts which he held in common with Shaftesbury.

²⁹ H.K.A. i. 342. The words in italics have verbal parallels in Du Resnel's translation of Pope's poem, *Essai sur la critique* (Paris, Le Gras & Lottin, 1730).

³⁰ *Essay on Criticism*, i. 233ff. H.K.A. i. 343.

³¹ ix. 263.

The latter's influence on Möser was very evident in the essay *Der Werth wohlgewogener Neigungen und Leidenschaften* (1756). Its setting and style were similar to those of Shaftesbury's *Moralists* (which was accessible to Möser in a German translation).³² This essay consisted of several letters from the former sceptic Philocles to his friend Palemon. These recall past conversations when Philocles was converted to theism by the enthusiast Theocles, and record a more recent conversation between Philocles and Palemon. In reporting these conversations Shaftesbury employed a variety of styles including one which he termed the poetic or sublime, 'such as is the aptest to run into enthusiasm and extravagance.'³³

Möser, schooled on the more rational prose of Marivaux and Saint-Evremond, found this style attractive and he attempted to imitate the enraptured rhythmic prose of Shaftesbury. *Der Werth* was written in an ornate and emotional style not found in any other of his works.

In this essay Möser elaborated his theory of the passions and inclinations. The essay was in the form of a letter written to Philocles by a friend (whose name is not revealed) about the character of a mutual friend who had just died. The writer of the letter expressed the hope that he could equal the clarity and force of Philocles' discourse,³⁴ presumably as revealed in the *Moralists*. He recalled to Philocles their last meeting with the dead friend on a calm and beautiful evening in much the same manner as Shaftesbury's Philocles had reminded Palemon of their conversation in a park at sunset.³⁵ There is no doubt that Möser was familiar with the *Moralists*.

The philosophical argument of *Der Werth* was derived from that of *The Inquiry concerning Virtue*, and like it was full of inconsistencies. In his *Inquiry* Shaftesbury treated the passions and affections as synonymous, but Möser made an amazing attempt to reconcile Shaftesbury's doctrine that conduct was

³² *Die Sittenlehrer oder Erzählung philosophischer Gespräche, welche die Natur und Tugend betreffen*, translated by J. J. Spalding (Berlin, Haude, 1747). Among translations of the *Inquiry concerning Virtue* are: *Principes de la philosophie morale, ou Essai de M.S. sur le mérite de la vertu, avec les réflexions, traduites par Diderot* (Paris, Amsterdam, 2. Chatelain, 1745). Nouvelle édition (traduite librement de l'anglois par Diderot), Venise, Paris, La Société des libraires, 1751. *Untersuchung über die Tugend aus dem Englischen von J. J. Spalding* (Berlin, Haude, 1747).

³³ *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, ed. Robertson, 2 vols. (London, Grant Richards, 1900), ii. 334.

³⁴ ix. 12-13.

³⁵ ix. 8-9. *Characteristics*, ii. 3.

prompted by good, natural passions with his former belief, gained from Marivaux and Saint-Evremond, that *amour-propre* was the motive behind all human behaviour. He set out to prove that there were two types of virtue – that which arose from the passions but required the sanction of reason, recognized by Shaftesbury, and that which arose from the passions directly without reason's sanction, called by Shaftesbury 'good'. Shaftesbury is emphatic that a creature with good qualities can act virtuously only when he has the power of reflection:

Let us suppose a creature who, wanting reason and being unable to reflect, has notwithstanding many good qualities and affections. . . . 'Tis certain that if you give to this creature a reflecting faculty, it will at the same instant approve of gratitude, kindness and pity. . . . And this is to be capable of virtue and to have a sense of right and wrong.³⁶

Yet sometimes he attributes to reason no more importance than have the heart and feeling:

'Tis not wit merely, but a temper which must form the well-bred man. In the same manner, 'tis not the head merely, but a heart and resolution which must complete the real philosopher.³⁷

Near the commencement of his essay Möser states his intention to prove that virtue is not merely a product of reason:

Ueberhaupt aber habe ich längst eine Gelegenheit gewünscht, unsern Neigungen und Leidenschaften eine mehrere Aufmerksamkeit zu erwerben, den Werth ihres starken und glücklichen Einflusses in alle Arten von Tugenden zu zeigen, und dadurch ein Vorurteil zu schwächen, welches die Tugend schlechterdings zu einer Frucht unsers Verstandes macht, und solche sogleich einer Falschheit beschuldigt, wenn eine Süßigkeit der Empfindung, ein sanfter Hang der Neigung, oder eine starke Leidenschaft sich mit ihr vereiniget. Der Graf von Shaftesbury hat diese Lehre zwar schon in ein schönes System gebracht, und den Anbau unsrer Neigungen zu dem Hauptvorwurf seiner Sittenlehre gemacht.³⁸

Unluckily Möser, like Shaftesbury, was not consistent in his attitude to reason. Sometimes he spoke of reason as superior to the passions, thereby following closely some of Shaftesbury's arguments; but sometimes he spoke of reason as inferior to the passions, a view which Shaftesbury never held but which was the natural outcome of his thought.

Möser also made some use of Shaftesbury's concept of the harmonious personality and of the harmonious universe, so

³⁶ *Characteristics*, i. 266.

³⁷ *ibid.*, ii. 255.

³⁸ ix. 5-6.

important later to German Classicism, and he talked of the feelings of awe experienced by men when confronted by the marvels of nature. Both Shaftesbury and Möser thought of nature as at once animate and inanimate, as at once a Being akin to God and as the work of God. Shaftesbury exclaims:

O glorious nature! supremely fair and sovereignly good! all-loving and all-lovely, all divine! whose looks are so becoming and of such infinite grace; whose study brings such wisdom, and whose contemplation such delight; whose every single work affords an ampler scene, and is a nobler spectacle than all which ever art presented!³⁹

And Möser comments:

Denn die bildende Gottheit schwebt gleichsam nah über ihren Werken; unser Herz überraschet sie in ihrer Arbeit; ihre schönen Einrichtungen scheinen unsern Augen ihre heimliche Anwesenheit zu verraten, und in jeder wachsenden Pflanze zeigt sich ihre wirksame Gegenwart; wenigstens empfinden wir sie, ohne uns durch förmliche Schlüsse davon zu überzeugen.⁴⁰

Strangely enough, Shaftesbury's observations on aesthetic pleasure which were to prove so stimulating to other German critics, inspired Möser only indirectly. In *Der Werth*, it is true, Möser described an aesthetic pleasure but it was part of the religious awe aroused by the sight of nature's works and not a separate entity. Shaftesbury's main contribution to aesthetics was his theory of the sublime. He cherishes a passion

for things of a natural kind; where neither art nor the conceit or caprice of man has spoiled their genuine order, by breaking in upon that primitive state. Even the rude rocks, the mossy caverns, the irregular unwrought grottoes and broken falls of waters, with all the horrid graces of the wilderness itself, as representing nature more, will be the more engaging, and appear with a magnificence beyond the formal mockery of princely gardens.⁴¹

But Addison and Pope had talked of this feeling for the sublime, and Möser in his weeklies followed these writers very closely, so that it is probable that when referring to the grandeur of nature, he was only indirectly indebted to Shaftesbury.

The most surprising feature of Shaftesbury's influence on Möser was its transitoriness. Although very evident in *Der Werth*, it is hardly to be traced in any other of Möser's works. Möser wrote once in Shaftesbury's manner and then turned

³⁹ *Characteristics*, ii. 98.

⁴⁰ ix. 25.

⁴¹ *Characteristics*, ii. 125.

away, for neither the Englishman's style nor his philosophy was really compatible with his personality or interests.

These four writers were by no means the only English writers known to Möser. As the years passed, he made the acquaintance of such writers as Sterne, Smollett, the poet Churchill and of countless historians, including Hume whose works he took back with him from London to Germany. But none of these had as profound an influence upon him as that exercised by Steele, Addison, Pope and Shaftesbury, who caused him to see things in a new way. They revealed to him human nature in many aspects, they hinted that art should do more than merely conform to the neo-classical canons of taste and they discussed the immensity of the universe. Small wonder that Möser came to regard English literature as a form of art in which all the variety of nature was represented.

Although Möser knew these four writers by 1756, he did not outline his attitude to English literature as a whole until 1781 in his *Ueber die deutsche Sprache und Literatur*. His chief concern in the essay was to assert that German literature should not ape foreign models, as Frederick the Great had urged it to do, but should develop in its own way. It should follow, not the path chosen by the French and Italians, who, with beauty as their sole aim, sacrificed all to that end, but that chosen by the English, who preferred the representation of nature and variety to the presentation of beauty. The difference between these paths he illustrated firstly by a comparison between Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* and Voltaire's *Mort de César*, and secondly by a comparison between an English and a French garden. Here he resorted to the horticultural metaphor employed in the criticism of Pope, Addison, Shaftesbury and even Voltaire himself who declares:

Le génie poétique des Anglais ressemble jusqu'à présent à un arbre touffu planté par la nature . . . : il meurt, si vous voulez forcer sa nature et le tailler en arbre des jardins de Marly.⁴²

In an English garden Möser finds:

eben wie in Shakespeare's Stücken, Tempel, Grotten, Klausen, Dickichte, Riesensteine, Grabhügel, Ruinen, Felsenhöhlen, Wälder, Wiesen, Weiden, Dorfschaften, und unendliche Mannigfaltigkeiten, wie in Gottes Schöpfung durcheinander vermischt.

But in a French garden one finds everything:

⁴² 'Sur la tragédie', in *Lettres philosophiques*. Edition critique avec une introduction. . . par Gustave Lanson (5e édition, Paris, Droz).

so regelmässig geordnet, dass man beim Auf- und Niedergehen sogleich alle Eintheilungen mit wenigen Linien abzeichnen kann, und mit jedem Schritte auf die Einheit stösst, welche diese wenigen Schönheiten zu einem Ganzen vereinigt.⁴³

This preference for English rather than French art was remarkable in one whose education had been largely based on French letters. But Möser's political ideas doubtless had some effect here upon his critical doctrines. The England that was to be responsible for the prosperity of Osnabrück was also to be responsible for inspiring German writers; the France that could in no way ensure Osnabrück's future well-being, could also in no way lead German literature to greatness.

Yet it must be noted that Möser's rejection of French literature as a model for German letters did not prevent him from admiring individual French writers such as Marivaux, Rousseau, Montesquieu, and even Voltaire himself, whose dramatic gifts had been classed as inferior to those of Shakespeare. His admiration for these authors was very proper, for he in fact owed as much to them as to English writers. Without Montesquieu's theory of the relativism of law, without Rousseau's recommendations that a man should write from his heart and not according to rules, and without Voltaire's discussion of English literature, Möser's critical essay would not have been the success it was. But that is another matter.

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⁴³ ix. 146.

A NOTE ON CANADIAN FRENCH

For the French Canadian, the French language remains one of the most precious elements of the national wealth.

In the nineteenth century, most French Canadians were unwilling to admit that there were dialectal and 'patois' forms in their speech, which they wrongly equated with the literary language of seventeenth-century France, the language of the Court and the Ile-de-France. It is however known that the great majority of French-Canadian pioneers had come from provinces north of the Loire and brought their related dialects with them. Hence, says Dr George A. Klinck (*Louis Fréchette prosateur*, Lévis, Canada, 1955, p. 156), in the province of Quebec today, 'le parler du peuple est presque le même partout. Il n'y a que dans les milieux instruits qu'on entend la langue littéraire qui ne diffère pas beaucoup de celle de la mère-patrie.'

Popular French-Canadian speech is clearly no deformation of the official language: it is a dialect issuing from the linguistic matrix of French. Canadian educators have long struggled against dialectal solecisms, barbarisms and anglicisms in teaching literary French, spoken and written. Moreover Canadian French gradually moved away from that of 'la mère-patrie'. The Revolution, the Napoleonic era and the Romantic renewal have coined neologisms expressing liberal ideas that were slow to cross the Atlantic. However, the younger generation has a keen interest in the present-day literary and artistic movements in France, so that it must become less and less true to say that Canadian French is 'un français en retard au point de vue phonétique et vocabulaire surtout; et ce français parlé était partiellement corrompu d'anglicismes et de solécismes, et coloré d'expressions propres au nouveau milieu et à la nouvelle vie des colons' (Klinck, p. 158).

The factors of linguistic change are well known and it is clear that even classical French finds sources of enrichment in the expressions and figures of speech common in the Canadian countryside rather than in the anglicisms and americanisms found in official French. Some Canadian terms are, however, generally considered to be 'fautes de langage', e.g. bargagne malle (= courrier), supporter un gouvernement, loafer, centime (= sou), acter, espérer (= attendre), homme de la poste, adresser une assemblée and prisonnier de la barre. Yet so often the 'argot' of today becomes the language of tomorrow; and literary masters like George Sand, René Bazin and Maupassant owe some of their piquancy to personages using popular dialect. This is the case with the *contes* of Fréchette and other Canadian writers already before Louis Hémon's masterpiece, *Maria Chapdelaine* (1916), led the way in new regionalist novels, seasoned with an 'idiome franc et pittoresque'.

Fréchette's dialectal transcription in his *contes* will be apparent from two quotations:

—Zèbe, avez-vous jamais remarqué la belle écho qu'y a par icitte?

—Queel écho? que je dis.

—Dame, l'écho qu'y a par icitte; quoi que vous voulez que je dise de plusse? L'avez-vous remarqué?

—Eh ben, qu'y dit . . .

—Y a du r'sort: que je dis, mais il en manque toujours un, sûr. On ne peut pas se coucher comme ça, faut le sarcher. Y a pas à dire: 'Catherine', le boss badine pas avec ces affaires-là; me faut mes dix-huit.

Dr Klinck rightly concludes, on the basis of many examples, that 'quelques-uns des traits saillants du parler populaire au Canada sont à peu près identiques à ceux du parler populaire en France'. There is the speech-facilitating tendency to suppress unstressed vowels (qu'y a=qu'il y a; c't'écho; me v'là), such shortenings producing 'un effet sec et explosif'. The tendency to palatalize the dentals *t* and *d* has similar results (chanquier, moiquié).

Many Canadian morphological provincialisms come from French 'parlers':

icitte, ecit = ici; ben = bien; étout, itout = aussi; pis = puis; sus = sur; sarchons = cherchons; en effette; ça = il, elle; c'est pas de refus; je cré.

Apart from numerous anglicisms (couque, boss, foreman, fun, twist, gang, toffe, set), there are the usual barbarisms in conjugations (j'arrivons, je vas) to be noted, as well as the opening of *e* to *a* before *r* (la conçarne, on sarchit) and the dropping of a consonant by dissimilation (âbre).

It is clear that many typical Canadian Frenchmen have preserved their linguistic heritage and among them was Louis Fréchette, whose cultural, public and literary services to his country Dr Klinck traces in the convincingly brilliant thesis for which Laval University awarded him its 'doctorat-ès-lettres'.

In the present notice, I have virtually restricted comment to linguistic questions but the dominant impression made by Dr Klinck's latest work is one of admiration for a Canadian pioneer in national literature, of whom it has been well said, 'Few have made us feel the inborn laughter of the habitant as did Fréchette, the great good humour of the plain people, in which their whole philosophy of life found its inevitable expression. This is the people that we love, and are proud to own as brothers, and with whom we can make a nation so strong and proud and good that it will be a jewel among the nations of the world.'

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SEMANTICS COMES OF AGE

In the past five or six years there has been a renewal of interest in the theoretical principles of semantics which bids fair to establish it at last as a legitimate branch of linguistic study. The neglect of semantics by the comparativist has been understandable, because he has so little material to work on; but the fact that other students of language have regarded it as a dubious pursuit requires explanation.

The foundations of semantics were laid shortly after those of historical phonetics.² Attempts were made to formulate semantic laws of the same rigid character and application as phonetic laws, and they were allegedly found in the rhetorical figures of speech of antiquity and the associationism of Locke. Because they were not deduced from linguistic investigation, but transferred from classical aesthetics and sensationalist philosophy, these 'laws', essentially classificatory in character, were difficult to adapt to the linguistic material and did not win unanimous support.³ Semantics came to be a playground for subtle analyses which, while throwing much light on their authors' ingenuity, did not materially advance semantics as a linguistic science, but tended to stress its relationship to logic and psychology of a particular sort.

The two crucial problems facing exponents of these systems were (and are): firstly, do the categories of abstract-concrete, genus-species, etc., really apply to language? and secondly, if all meaning change is summed up by transfers within such pairs, how do *new* meanings arise? These questions were rarely asked, yet when they were, the lessons to be drawn were clear enough. A. Dauzat, for example, noted that logically there was in French a genus *pot* and a genus *marmite*, but linguistically, one type of *marmite* was called a *pot-au-feu*.⁴ Similarly Gaston Paris pointed

¹ See in particular S. Ullmann, *The Principles of Semantics* (Glasgow, 1951); H. Kronasser, *Handbuch der Semasiologie* (Heidelberg, 1952); and, for French, E. Gamillscheg, *Französische Bedeutungslehre* (Tübingen, 1951); S. Ullmann, *Précis de sémantique française* (Berne, 1952); G. Matoré, *La méthode en lexicologie, domaine français* (Paris, 1953). There is also a theoretical introduction in my *Développement du vocabulaire féodal* (Paris thesis 1950), to be published shortly by Droz, Geneva.

² The history of semantics is covered in some detail in most of the works quoted in the preceding note.

³ One of the best of the early critical works was K. Jaberg's 'Pejorative Bedeutungswandel im Französischen, mit Berücksichtigung allgemeiner Fragen der Semasiologie', *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 25 (1901) 561-601, 27 (1903) 25-71, and 29 (1905) 56-71.

⁴ *La géographie linguistique* (Paris, 1944), p. 136.

but that while investigations had centred round the problem of how words got new meanings, there was another approach no one had considered: how did new ideas get names?⁵ Gradually, there grew, among French scholars in particular, the appreciation that a much more realistic explanation of meaning change and of semantic innovation lay in the social differentiation of language on the basis of everyday activities such as trade and profession.⁶ Advance in this direction, however, was blocked by the wide acceptance of the principles of Saussure.⁷

Saussure's analysis of the linguistic sign into *signifiant* and *signifié*, with the express exclusion of any reference to the object or relation designated, automatically closed off this new avenue: linguistics became concerned only with language in and for itself, and could not therefore, in semantics, make allowance for the entry of the extra-linguistic new into what was, by definition, a closed system. A rigid interpretation of Saussure's principles would, in fact, rule out semantics as a legitimate branch of linguistics.

At the same time, Saussure made the penetrating criticism of traditional approaches that diachronic studies were necessarily atomistic, as against the systematic or structural analysis of synchronics. This was as true of semantics as it was of phonetics, until Gilliéron made the first brilliant synthesis of the two approaches in his work on homonymic collision. The synchronic approach has also shown the importance of synonymy and polysemy.

Various attempts have been made to adapt diachronic semantic studies to allow for the structural factors revealed by synchronic analysis; the most important is probably the 'field' approach of Trier.⁸ At the same time, the synchronic approach itself has been modified so as to take into account social factors; unfortunately, Professor Matoré's 'lexicologie' is by definition a sociological study,⁹ and is therefore subject to the traditional objections from the point of view of linguistic science.

The only major attempt to synthesize work to date is Dr Ullmann's invaluable *Principles of Semantics*. However, because

⁵ *Mélanges linguistiques* (Paris, 1906), ii 289.

⁶ See in particular M. Bréal, *Essai de sémantique* (Paris, 1904), p. 121-2; A. Meillet, *Linguistique historique et linguistique générale*, (2e éd., 1926), i. 230-71.

⁷ *Cours de linguistique générale* (Paris, 1949), originally published in 1916.

⁸ I have been unable to consult Trier's work, but there is some discussion of his approach by Ullmann, *Principles*, p. 75, 156-70.

⁹ *La méthode en lexicologie*, p. 13.

it too does not ask how new meanings arise but follows the traditional twin approach (how do words change meaning? how do notions change their name?), this work accepts the Saussurean exclusion of the relation between meaning and object relation designated, and consequently shows no advance in the crucial problem. The method of classification remains 'psychological', and is therefore unlikely to convince the scholar who legitimately expects a linguistic classification of linguistic facts. Change of meaning and semantic innovation are social, psychological and linguistic facts. The social and psychological factors are necessary data, but they are not answers, so far as linguistics is concerned.

If we approach the problem from the question 'How do new notions find their linguistic expression?' a linguistic classification is immediately available, as a language uses change of meaning, derivation, transposition, borrowing, etc., to express the new. Immediately, the organization of linguistic studies suggested by Ries and recently reasserted by Dr Ullmann takes on full significance:¹⁰ morphology and semantics in both their lexic and syntactical aspects are involved in the study of semantic innovation, and innovation thus becomes necessarily concerned with structure. The existing structure of language plays a part in determining the particular expression given to social or psychological neologism. Social structure and linguistic structure, conceived dynamically, are therefore basic factors in considering semantic change.

It is along these lines that the methodological approach of two contexts has been determined: a general or structural context, comprising the material world and society on the one hand, and their expression in a language system on the other; and a particular or immediate context, comprising the concrete material and social situation, and the acts of speech in which innovation finds its linguistic expression and is finally integrated into the general structure. Detailed studies carried out along these lines¹¹ will assist greatly in precisely delimiting the character of each linguistic means available for expressing innovation. Ultimately this means, for example, a more precise differentiation of derivation and transposition (often called 'derivation by change of function'), and therefore a clearer characterization of the parts of speech. Semantics will then be fully integrated

¹⁰ *Principles*, p. 31-42.

¹¹ See in particular P. J. Wexler, *La formation du vocabulaire des chemins de fer* (Geneva, 1955).

into linguistics because it will help in the solution of general linguistic problems which concern all branches of language study.

Linguistics studies language, not logic, psychology or society. But language is spoken by men living in a material and social environment. Knowledge of this environment is therefore a prerequisite to understanding language and why it changes. Semantics, more than any other branch of linguistics, suffers from the exclusion of that knowledge. Recognition of its fundamental importance can integrate semantics into linguistics so that it will no longer be the poor relation of questionable parentage that it has been for so long.

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AN ALBIGENSIAN TRILOGY

The Silent Tarn. Hannah Closs. London. Hodder & Stoughton. 1955. 12s. 6d. *The Silent Tarn* was published posthumously and forms the final novel in the trilogy; the first two were *High are the Mountains* (1946) and *And Sombre the Valleys* (1949).

All three are set in the Languedoc of the early thirteenth century, that old French province stretching from the valleys of the upper Garonne to the Cévennes and the Rhône, bordered on the south by the Roussillon, the Pyrenees and a short Mediterranean coastal plain merging into Provence proper. My recent journey from Toulouse to Carcassonne, Narbonne, Perpignan, Vernet-les-Bains, Font-Romeu, Foix and back to Toulouse, revealed fertile plains, stony stretches, many ruins of castles, aqueducts and churches, hillsides sparsely shaded by olive-trees, a countryside more continental than maritime, and the snow-capped eastern Pyrenees: the 'Languedociens' themselves were vivacious, energetic and hospitable.

In the Middle Ages, Toulouse was the focus of southern culture; 'la plus aimable, élégante des civilisations y florissait' (Languier); here and elsewhere in the time of the troubadours, as at Narbonne, the music and songs of the 'Cours d'Amour' were heard in a land of plenty. The sudden change came when, in the words of Mistral, 'li baroun picard, alemand, bourguignon, saravan (=encerclaient) Toulouse et Beaucaire'. The banners of the Albigensian crusaders were unfurled; the northern barons of the French King rode their horses across the Rhône

and the Cross was carried before the papal legate. The Abbé Montmorency galloped at the side of Simon de Montfort. City by city, the towns, villages and strongholds of the 'heretic' Albigenses or Cathars were destroyed by fire or left in ruins among them lovely Carcassonne and Montségur, their last spiritual refuge. Many of their descendants are austere Protestants. It still seems fairly true to say that the grass has never grown again under the hoofs of Simon de Montfort's horse.

It was not the first or the last time in history that the independent, non-conforming mind was given the choice between a forced orthodoxy and annihilation; but in the long record of man's fight for freedom of belief, there can be few more illuminating stories than the brave struggle of the thirteenth-century Albigenses of Languedoc against the Church which strove to exterminate them as heretics, in which crusade the Inquisition was aided by the land-hungry barons of Northern France, themselves eager for dispensations from Pope Innocent III. The most powerful but vacillating feudal lord in the Languedoc, Count Raymond VI of Toulouse, finally surrendered unconditionally in 1214, after his vassal, Raimond-Roger of Béziers and Carcassonne, had in 1209 been captured, deprived of his fief and supplanted by Simon de Montfort, who by 1215 had made himself master of the province.¹

Even earlier than the Albigenses (their name is from the town of Albi), the Cathars had been the victims of a crusade against a similar heresy, a crusade from which the Dominican order was born, ancestor of the Vaudois and Franciscans. Cathars and Albigenses, leading austere, simple lives, made a theological distinction between 'un Dieu bon et un Dieu mauvais'. Many Old Testament books were rejected, as was the physical universe as an emanation of the evil principle; their God was held to be fundamentally different from the God of the New Testament, and Moses was considered to have received the Law from a deceiver. Yet the Albigenses treated Jews with friendly respect, and this became one of the charges brought against them by the Church, who soon grouped all heretical Christian communities of Southern France under the name of Albigenses and sought their destruction. In the words of Lucretius, 'such an enormity of evil has religion been able to instigate.'

Mrs Closs re-created history as an artist; yet every relevant historical fact, date, place or happening is recorded or described.

¹ Cf. L. Halpern, *L'Essor de l'Europe*, 1948, pp. 303-7, et passim.

with absolute accuracy. In spite of the tragic chronicle, to the reader who knows and loves the land lying between Toulouse and Andorra, Foix and the Mediterranean, incomparable Carcassonne and the silent, sombre Pyrenees, the whole trilogy brings back memories of pure delight. The colourful medieval background is already depicted at leisure in the first part; in the last, the central character remains Wolf, illegitimate son of the Count of Foix; the style becomes a little more laconic but even more vividly dramatic. Only very infrequently does the dialogue become slightly too stylized: the writing is always of a clear beauty in wording and imagery. The trilogy has been translated successfully into French and German, a task made easier by the author's preference for short or relatively short sentences.

Period and region² were closely studied by Mrs Closs, as was the nature of beliefs in such violent strife. Above all, however, the novelist excels in characterization. Raymond of Toulouse and Trencavel are fully revealed in the terrible siege of Carcassonne re-lived in *High are the Mountains*; but out of legend, 'chanson de geste', and an entry in the registers of the Inquisition, together with his known participation in a series of battles, Wolf's figure has been fashioned anew, a tormented, modern existential hero seeking the truth of Montségur and finding when he ceases to seek. An original creation, embodying the tresses of the times, yet unable to commit himself wholly to one side or the other, feeling the futility of unceasing conflict. A born idealist and dreamer, he first turns from the non-violence of the Cathars to be flung into brutal warfare from which he shrinks. He emerges maimed in body and spirit and wedded to a woman whose fanatical hatred of the flesh reflects the unreal shadow-side of the Cathar belief.

The Silent Tarn reveals the last phase of Wolf's unhappy quest for truth, wholeness and integrity, during the final history of the Languedoc after its brief success over Simon de Montfort, whose son won parliamentary fame in Britain. Again we meet many of the characters who had played so intimate a part in Wolf's earlier destiny – the cynical trifling Peire Roger de Mirepoix, troubadour, the malignant fanatic Jordan of the Isle, the lily maiden Esclarmonde of Perelha, whose face, reflected by a dark pool in the valley of Sabarthea, had once given Wolf meaning in life. There are also new characters, like that spiritual culture, Friar Guillaume, Inquisitor of Toulouse, whose liquida-

² There are, in the trilogy, felicitous quotations from Old Provençal poetry.

tion at the hands of Hugo d'Alfaro in a dramatically concealed episode is effectively revealed by a few deft questions and answers. All these characters, old and new, come to life; they are both human and more than human, just as the holy Pyrenean Citadel of Montségur was not only the last bastion of freedom in beleaguered Languedoc – a rock but also a symbol at once a tragic reality and a dream of the Holy Grail. *The Silent Tarn* is a philosophic, as well as an historical novel; above all, a most memorable work of art.

This trilogy of novels is timeless in its humanity, even if it reflects the coloured world of the Albigenses and troubadours. It becomes a mirror of the present in the persistent pursuit of problems like the fight for freedom and the individual personality. The young Wolf stands in between a decaying over-cultivated civilization and the fervid 'pure' of the Cathar faith. His father's sister, the Countess Esclarmonde of Foix, becomes his warm motherly good angel when the illegitimate boy escapes from a monastery school. The youth finds his ideal friend in the magnanimous Count of Trencavel. Wolf's early love Miriam is sublimated by his passion for the Albigensian crusade, but fate wills that Trencavel is to be one of the victims whom he is unable to save from treachery and death. Finally, almost broken in body and mind, yet hardened by fate, Wolf dedicates his life to the struggle for the ideals of pure humanity; whilst, over this goal, the Grail sheds a shining light.

L. A. TRIEBEL
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BOOK REVIEWS

The Sanskrit Language. T. Burrow. London. Faber and Faber. 1955. xi + 426 pp.

Professor Burrow's book fulfils a long-felt need in Indian and comparative linguistics. Previously there were a number of detailed and authoritative grammars of Sanskrit which give consideration to matters of comparative linguistics, for instance, the work of J. Renou, and the immense and as yet incomplete grammar of Wackernagel; but there was no general work of any magnitude on the evolution of Sanskrit from Indo-European.

Professor Burrow's book is remarkable above all for the wealth of material that it presents and the surety with which this is handled. There is no vague theorizing, but also no accumulation of unexplained detail. Utilizing a vast linguistic knowledge Professor Burrow deduces a lucid picture of the development of Sanskrit. He reconsiders the old-established comparative philology of Sanskrit, Iranian, Greek, Germanic, etc. in the light of recent discoveries in the field of the lesser known Indo-European languages, especially Hittite and Tocharian, and the Khotanese dialect of Iranian.

After an outline of the evolution of Sanskrit from Indo-European and a general discussion of Indo-European itself, Professor Burrow gives a detailed account of Sanskrit phonology, the formation of nouns, declension, and conjugation. The work concludes with a chapter on the non-Aryan influence on Sanskrit. Due consideration is given throughout the book to the earlier phases of Sanskrit, the language of the Vedas and Brâhmanas.

There is only a very short bibliography and no reference in the text to the immense specialist literature on the subject, nor to conflicting opinions.¹ This may appear as a disadvantage to some readers, but even a glance at some of the articles on Sanskrit linguistics in specialist journals will make us grateful to Professor Burrow for having mentioned only facts and acceptable conclusions and for having avoided unnecessary complications. For example, the so-called precativè or aorist optative of the Sanskrit verb had for a long time been considered as an Indian innovation, and about half a dozen different reasons have been advanced by various scholars as to how and why this form should have been introduced (cf. K. Brugmann, *Indogermanische Forschungen*, 34; Bloch, *MSL*, 23, etc.). Professor Burrow himself has proved conclusively in *Asiatica Festschrift F. Weller* 1954) that the precativè, far from being an innovation, is an archaizing survival in Sanskrit, and is linked with the preterite formations in Hittite and Tocharian. In *The Sanskrit Language* he simply mentions the facts and the conclusions he has drawn from them, without claiming the discovery as his own. The book is therefore more than a mere synthesis; there are to be found

¹ Except over the much debated Indo-European 'shwa', p. 104.

in it improved explanations and new views which fit in so well with the known facts that they are accepted naturally and their originality tends to escape notice.

Although it avoids conflicting theories, Professor Burrow's book does not give a false sense of security. He shows that much work is still to be done and that many major problems of Indian linguistics have still to be elucidated. For instance much has been written recently about the influence on Sanskrit of the pre-Aryan languages of India (Przyluski has written on Austro-Asiatic borrowing; Bloch, Burrow, Ammer and others on Dravidian borrowing; Mayrhofer on Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian, etc.); but Professor Burrow shows that only a small proportion of the words of unknown origin occurring in Sanskrit can be assigned with any certainty to these sources and that here lies one of the most fruitful fields of research in Indian linguistics.

The Sanskrit Language is an indispensable reference book for those interested in comparative philology.

L. A. HERCUS

La formation du vocabulaire des chemins de fer en France (1771-1842). P. J. Wexler. Genève-Lille. Droz. 1955. 160 pp.

Innovation is so much a part of daily life in the twentieth century that its linguistic results are as much neglected as in the days when there was no scientific study of language. Who, for example, is noting down day-to-day progress in the denomination of the television-telephone? This type of work should be a necessary branch of linguistic studies in future as a result of the pioneer work Dr Wexler has done with the vocabulary of railways. The dreary round of metonymies and arbitrarily assumed associations, with their diversion of effort to the verbalist pursuit of neat but irrelevant classifications of semantic events, may perhaps be avoided by future generations of students now that a thorough-going demonstration has been provided of the way language is really involved in innovation.

Vocabulary studies have rarely been the object of such detailed and painstaking research. Even such an apparently well-ploughed field as borrowings reveals new areas to be turned over after one has read, for example, the early history of *locomotive* or *viaduct*. The evidence that polysynonymy is a necessary stage in the onomasiological process will have important repercussions in synchronic studies, where the emphasis on stable structure has led to a discounting of elements that at the given moment are only somewhere along the way to becoming structural, yet play a rôle in the structure.

Dr Wexler's distinction of two stages in denomination (p. 130): the initial stage of descriptive periphrasis, then the period of polysynonymy, is important, but more so than he suggests. His detailed studies show clearly that the new concept is formed only as the

ame becomes more defined, and vice-versa; name and concept are single creation, in which the existing social and linguistic structures are the mediatory factors because new experience can only be interpreted and expressed in the light of past experience. His use of terms like 'précautions oratoires ou typographiques' (p. 7) is therefore a remnant of the traditional methods he has so usefully discarded as unfruitful. The onomasiological process as he portrays it shows in fact the inapplicability of Saussure's theory of the sign to diachronic studies: there are no pre-existing elements which come together arbitrarily and by convention; each sign is formed as a unit, by a process of trial and error.

It is impossible in a short review to do justice to a most thought-provoking book: by way of conclusion, may we hope that Dr Vexler will undertake the study of the literary diffusion of railway vocabulary of which he gives such a tantalizing sketch in his final pages?

K. J. HOLLYMAN

Radiguet, avec des textes inédits. Keith Goesch. Paris-Genève. La Palatine. 1955. pp. xii + 192.

In the early nineteen-twenties I felt that in France something important was in the air, but could not be sure how much of the *renouveau* would last, for we were still too close, even to Apollinaire (and Proust), to get everything into perspective. That, probably, is why many of my generation looked back to Symbolism, which by that time was beginning to have the necessary focus. And for a similar reason, no doubt, a younger generation is now exploring the period that puzzled us a little. It is interesting, in this respect, to note that two young Australian scholars, Dr Lawler and Dr Goesch, have recently devoted their Sorbonne theses to Apollinaire and Raymond Radiguet respectively.

In that earlier period we soon lost any enthusiasm for Paul Morand, whose mechanisms rapidly became monotonous, nor did Mac Orlan leave any lasting impression. But I still remember vividly a book that René Turck, French Consul in Melbourne at the time, thrust into my hand one day, saying: 'Il faut absolument que vous lisiez ça'. It was *Le Bal du comte d'Orgel*.

For publication purposes, Dr Goesch has wisely cut his thesis down to the essentials of biography, with a running commentary that makes interesting reading. What hits one hardest is the lightning-like brevity (and intensity) of Radiguet's career, which makes Jean Cocteau say in his *Avant-propos*: 'On ne saurait parler en ce qui le concerne de naissance ni de mort. Une apparition. Une disparition? But I think it was genuine lightning, not a mere flash in the pan; and this gives Dr Goesch's book ample justification.

The author has done us all a service by quoting so many contemporary opinions of Radiguet's work, some laudatory, others contemptuous. It is a salutary corrective for hasty judgments to see how

poor a prophet the contemporary critic can sometimes be maliciously cherish, for example, this *écreintement* that the *Gazette de France* in 1831 gave Stendhal: 'L'ouvrage . . . s'appelle le rouge et le noir, tout comme il aurait pu s'appeler le vert et le jaune, le blanc et le bleu . . . Cette honteuse production ne sert qu'à constater . . . qu'il est presque temps que M. de Stendhal change encore une fois de nom, et pour toujours de manière et de style.'

The *inédits* in Dr Goesch's book are invaluable. They comprise correspondence with Cocteau and others, and several poems that had never had a chance to see before. Frankly, I cannot discern even at this distance, much justification for a comparison with Rimbaud (Dr Goesch, I should add, makes no such claim). Radiguet's verse is usually either too derivative (Apollinaire, even Laforgue, and of course Rimbaud) or too uncertain. The only piece in which I can see poetry is the graceful *Nues*, which is worth quoting in full:

Au regard frivoles les nues
Se refusent selon la nuit
Vers l'aurore sans plus de bruit
Dormez chère étoile ingénue

Sous les arbres de l'avenue
Les amours ne sont plus gratuits
Au regard frivoles les nues
Se refusent selon la nuit

Les étoiles à demi nues
Semblables sœurs nées à minuit
Chacun son tour nous conduit
A des adresses inconnues
De vos regards frivoles nues.

It is dated October 1919. There is obviously a syllable lacking in the antepenultimate line; and it would be interesting to know whether this is a miscopying of the manuscript, a printer's error, or a slip on Radiguet's part. I imagine the line should have had 'Chacun son tour'.

True, in other pieces there are attractive little notations and conceits from time to time, such as:

Bulle de savon
Egayant ta pipe Gambier
Noël nous savons
Que l'hiver est ton barbier.

But we are so used to these ever since Rimbaud (whose name is stamped on all poetic Gambiers!) and Laforgue, and they were unfortunately elaborated into a system by Paul Morand.

None of the above remarks, however, is intended to take away from the posthumous repute of Raymond Radiguet; and I agree

radially with this summing up of Dr Goesch's: '*Le Bal du comte d'Argel*, s'il n'est pas le pur chef-d'œuvre que certains en ont fait, n'a pas moins un roman de tout premier ordre, qui tient rigoureusement les promesses du jeune romancier disparu.'

A. R. CHISHOLM

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CONGRESS AT BRISBANE, AUGUST 1955

The Fourth Congress of A.U.M.L.A. was held in Brisbane August 1955. There was a very full programme, comprising lectures on English, French, German, Russian and Dutch literature, and papers on various aspects of philology and phonetics. Perhaps the most notable feature of the Conference was the presence, for the first time in strength, of delegates from the Departments of English in the Universities of Australia and New Zealand. It was decided moreover during the Congress that members of Classics staffs be invited to attend the fifth Congress.

Visitors: A considerable discussion centred upon the proposal to invite a British Council speaker and a French Cultural visitor. A list of names in both categories was submitted, but it was decided to postpone the final choice until further particulars could be obtained.

Humanities Research Council: Professor Jeffares reported on the progress made with the establishment of the Humanities Research Council. An approach had been made to the Prime Minister for funds, but at the time the treasury had not indicated whether the application would be approved. Meanwhile a survey of the Humanities in Australia was being made.

Travelling Scholarships: The report of the Standing Committee urged that, since a number of countries offered travelling scholarships for post-graduate studies to Australian students, the Commonwealth Government should be asked to consider a reciprocal scheme. A small committee was appointed to approach the government in the name of A.U.M.L.A. and of the Humanities Research Council.

Journal: The Editor of the Journal, Dr R. T. Sussex, requested delegates to approach their Vice-Chancellors with a view to obtaining a subsidy for the production of the Journal.

Various matters: Other items included the transfer of the Newsletter from Melbourne to Armidale, where it will be carried on under the editorship of Professor Piper, and the raising of the subscription to £2 5s. od. for ordinary members.

Election of office bearers was as follows: President—Professor L. A. Triebel, Vice-President—Professor R. F. Jackson, Chairman of Standing Committee—Dr R. T. Sussex, Secretary—Dr F. Maclean, Treasurer—Mr R. P. Meijer. Professor H. Piper was elected a member of the Standing Committee.

The Conference accepted the offer of Professor Triebel, made on behalf of the University of Tasmania, to hold the next Congress in Hobart, in February, 1957. The theme chosen was 'The Classical Heritage'.

A special vote of thanks to Professor Mahoney for the organization of the Brisbane Congress was carried.

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